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The COMMUNIST

VOL. VII MAY, 1928 NO. 5

May Day, 1928 *Alexander Bittelman*
May Day *Rosa Luxemburg*
The Present Situation in the Labor Movement *—Jay Lovestone*
Two Mine Strike Strategies *Wm. Z. Foster*
Pacifism and War *Bertram D. Wolfe*
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THE COMMUNIST

A Theoretical Magazine for the Discussion of Revolutionary Problems

Published by the Workers (Communist) Party of America

BERTRAM D. WOLFE, *Editor*

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B. CARLIN, *Business Manager.*

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NO. WE STRIKE!

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May Day, 1928

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

MAY DAY in 1928 can and must be made to assume a larger significance for the American working class than has been the case in recent years. This becomes possible, thanks to the rising wave of dissatisfaction among the masses with present conditions and their increasing readiness to respond to the action programs and slogans of the Party.

NATURE OF DEVELOPING CRISIS

As the industrial depression continues to develop, it becomes increasingly more evident that we are dealing here with basic changes in American capitalist economy and fundamental crises in several basic industries. The improvement in production in steel, automobiles, and building in the first quarter of 1928, which brought little improvement to other industries, is purely seasonal in its nature. It confirms the analysis of the February Plenum of our Central Committee that in several vital spots American capitalism is beginning to suffer from decay.

The army of about five million unemployed cannot be explained away. Particularly so when new lay-offs are taking place (during February) in industries in which production is actually increasing.

We are confronted with a fact of revolutionary significance. Millions of workers are permanently dislocated from industry and cannot be absorbed back into it even with the coming of industrial revival. This fact alone has such far-reaching consequences that the class struggle in America is bound to proceed on an upward curve assuming sharper and deeper manifestations.

The present crisis in the mining industry with the consequent upsurge of mass struggle against the capitalist offensive and the Lewis machine is a forerunner of similar developments and struggles in other industries.

WAR DANGER MORE ACUTE

In the past several months the war danger has undoubtedly become more acute. The best proof of this fact is the complete débacle of the last session of the League of Nations Disarmament Commission.

When pressed to the wall by Comrade Litvinov for the Soviet Delegation with a practical program for disarmament, the imperialist brigands of England, America, France, etc., were compelled to expose their hand. They were forced to show that their real designs call for more armaments in preparation for coming wars.

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World imperialism, urged on by England, continues to maneouvre for a joint attack upon the Soviet Union. At the same time, the basic struggle for imperialist world domination between the ruling classes of America and England proceeds to develop, coming ever closer to the point of open, armed conflict.

Due to these various recent developments, as well as to the further unfolding of American imperialism in Latin America (Nicaragua, Mexico, the Carribean, etc.), the toiling masses in the United States are beginning to show more realization of the war danger and the sinister nature of imperialism, hence also more readiness to engage in struggle against it.

MAY DAY AND THE COMING STRUGGLES

The task of May Day and of the period immediately following is to unify and politicalize the various separate struggles of the American working class. This task must be concretized and brought to the masses by the Workers (Communist) Party, the only class revolutionary party of the American proletariat.

Our Party calls upon the American workers to lay down tools on May Day in demonstration of working class solidarity. This demonstration must be infused with a consciousness of the common aims and the central national objectives of the separate struggles engaged in by the masses in various industries.

1. The fight against unemployment is a fight against the capitalist system. It must be developed into a political struggle for power culminating in the overthrow of capitalist rule and the establishment of working class rule, a workers and farmers government.

In this struggle the masses must strive to secure as much immediate relief as possible. The program of partial demands of our Party and its policy of organized struggle of the unemployed and employed for these demands gives the line for immediate action.

2. The struggle of the miners against the coal operators and the Lewis machine is a struggle of the entire American working class. It is a big class conflict in which the workers confront the organized power of the American ruling class in industry and in government. The American working class must help win the miners' struggle by direct immediate help to the miners and by unifying labor's forces on the economic and political fields.

3. Stop the retreat before the capitalist offensive. Strike against wage cuts and other attacks upon the standards of living and organization of the workers.

4. Rid the unions of the reactionary bureaucracy, the agents of the employers, and organize the unorganized.

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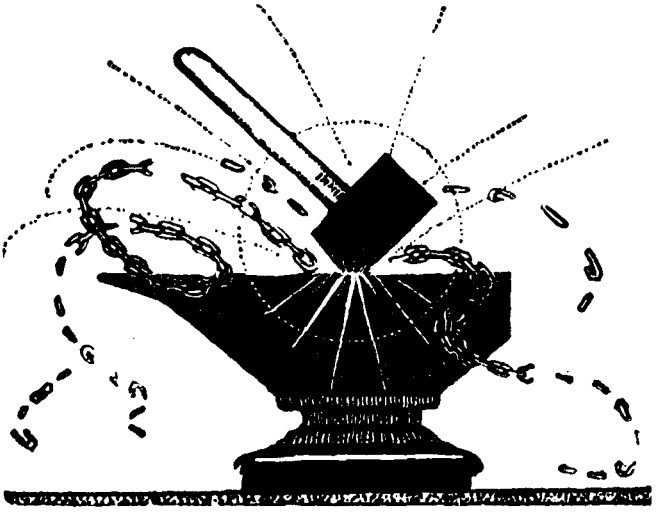
5. Fight against American imperialism. Demand the immediate withdrawal of American forces from foreign countries (Nicaragua, China, etc.). Mobilize for struggle, economically and politically, against the war danger and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

6. Break with the capitalist parties and organize a Labor Party. Combat the maneouvres of middle class politicians and reformers, like the Republican insurgents (Shipstead, Norris, etc.), and the Socialist Party (Berger, Norman Thomas, Hillquit, etc.) to exploit the working class for third-party, petty-bourgeois movements.

7. Make the coming presidential elections turn the tide of working-class retreat before the capitalist offensive by bringing into the political field an independent working-class power with its own program and candidates.

8. Fight for a workers and farmers government.



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Down With Reformist Illusions— Hail The Revolutionary Class Struggle!

By ROSA LUXEMBURG

[The May Day article printed below was written by Rosa Luxemburg for May Day, 1913, a year before the outbreak of the World War. It shows the combination of sensitiveness to coming events and concern with the methods of meeting them which is characteristic of the highest kind of revolutionary leadership. Its scornful analysis of class collaboration illusions and portrayal of the nature of the imperialist epoch and the war danger lend its words a timely ring today.—*Editor.*]

WHEN May Day demonstrations were held for the first time, the vanguard of the International, the German working class, was just at the point of breaking the chains of a disgraceful Exception Law and of entering upon the path of a free, legal development. The period of prolonged depression in the world market, since the crash of the seventies, had been overcome and capitalist economy had entered directly upon an era of resplendent development that was to last almost a decade. Likewise the world had recovered, after twenty years of uninterrupted peace, from recollections of that war period in which the modern European state system had received its bloody christening. The path appeared free for a quiet cultural development. Illusions, hopes for a peaceful settlement between capital and labor sprouted forth luxuriantly among the ranks of the Socialists. Proposals to hold out "the open hand to good will" marked the beginning of the nineties; promises of an inperceptible, "gradual evolution" into Socialism marked their end. Crises, wars, and revolutions were considered outworn theories, mere swaddling clothes of modern society; parliamentarism and trade unionism, *democracy in the State and democracy in the industry* were to open the gates to a new and better order.

The actual course of events played frightful havoc with all these illusions. In place of the promised mild social-reformist development of culture there has set in since the end of the nineties a period of the most violent, extreme sharpening of capitalist conflicts, a period of storm and stress, of crashes and turmoil, of tottering and trembling in the very foundations of society. The ten-year period of the economic upward curve of development was compensated for in the following decade by two world-convulsing crises. After two decades of world peace there followed

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in the last decade of last century six bloody wars and in the first decade of the new century four bloody revolutions. Instead of social reforms—sedition bills, imprisonment bills and jailings; instead of industrial democracy—the powerful concentration of capital in cartels and employers' associations and the international practice of giant lockouts. And instead of the new upward development of democracy in the State a miserable collapse of the last remnants of bourgeois liberalism and bourgeois democracy. In Germany alone the destinies of the bourgeois parties since the nineties have brought: the rise and immediate hopeless dissolution of the National Social Party, the break-up of the liberal opposition and the re-uniting of its fragments in the morass of reaction, and finally the transformation of the Center from a radical people's party to a conservative government party. And the shifting in party development in other capitalist countries has been similar. Everywhere the revolutionary working class today sees itself alone confronted by the compact, hostile reaction of the ruling classes and by their energetic attacks, which are aimed at them alone.

The "sign" under which this whole development on the economic and political field has been carried out, the formula according to which its results may be traced back is: IMPERIALISM. This is not a new element, not an unexpected veering in the general historical course of capitalist society. Military preparations and wars, international conflicts and colonial policies have accompanied the history of capital from its cradle. It is the extreme augmentation of these elements, the concentration and gigantic outburst of these conflicts, which have resulted in a new epoch in the development of present-day society. In dialectic reciprocal action—at the same time result and cause of the powerful accumulation of capital and of the consequent sharpening and intensifying of the contradiction between capital and labor within and between the capitalist States without—has Imperialism entered upon its final phase, the violent division of the world by the assault of capital. A chain of continual, unprecedented competitive military preparations on land and sea in all capitalist countries, a chain of bloody wars, which have spread from Africa to Europe and which any moment may fan the glowing sparks to a world conflagration; in addition, for years the phantom of the high cost of living, of mass hunger throughout the whole capitalist world, which can no longer be banished—these are the "signs" under which labor's world holiday will soon celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of its

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existence. And each of these "signs" is a flaming testimonial to the living truth and power of the ideas of the May Day celebration.

The brilliant main idea of the May Day celebration is the independent action of the proletarian masses, is the political mass action of the millions of workers, who otherwise can give expression to their own will only through petty parliamentary action, separated by State boundaries and consisting for the most part only in voting for representatives. The excellent proposal of the Frenchman Lavigne at the international congress in Paris combined this indirect parliamentary manifestation of the will of the proletariat with a direct international mass manifestation, the laying down of tools as a demonstration and fighting tactic for the eight-hour day, world peace, and Socialism.

No wonder the whole development, the aggregate tendency of imperialism in the last decade has been to bring ever plainer and more tangibly before the eyes of the international working class that only the independent action of the broadest masses, their own political action, mass demonstrations, mass strikes. which must sooner or later break forth into a period of revolutionary struggles for State power, can give the correct answer of the proletariat to the unprecedented pressure of imperialist politics. At this moment of frenzied military preparations and of war orgies it is only the resolute fighting stand of the working masses, their ability and readiness for powerful mass action, which still maintains world peace, which can still postpone the threatening world conflagration. And the more the May Day idea, the idea of resolute mass action as demonstrations of international solidarity and as a fighting tactic for peace and for Socialism even in the strongest section of the International, the German working class, strikes root, the greater guaranty we shall have that from the world war, which will inevitably take place sooner or later, there will result an ultimately victorious settlement between the world of labor and that of capital.

Leipzig, April 30, 1913.

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The Present Situation In The Labor Movement

By JAY LOVESTONE

EVERY acute economic depression has left an indelible mark on the American labor movement. No serious economic crisis has been weathered without being a force making for fundamental changes in the composition of the working class and in the organizational and ideological development of the American labor movement.

The American working class is today in the throes of a great crisis. Grave and significant events are in the process of development. The present crisis is distinct in one sense from all the other moments of trial and struggle that our working class has gone through. This crisis is not only one growing out of the acute depression at hand, but is also a "prosperity" crisis. The difficulties and problems the workers are facing today in the United States are reflexes at least as much of the recent period of prosperity as of the present period of severe economic depression.

What are the employers planning to do with the remaining trade unions? What will be the policy of the present trade union bureaucracy? What can be done to beat back the smashing, open-shop offensive now being waged by the huge capitalist interests against every vestige of working-class organization?

These are all pertinent questions. The life and death crisis which the biggest trade union of the American Federation of Labor, the United Mine Workers of America, is now going through; the gathering storms in the ranks of the railroad workers as a protest against the class collaboration schemes of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers type; the dire effects of the Watson-Parker law on the great mass of railway workers; the destruction of the needle-trade union organizations by the Socialist Party bureaucracy of the Sigman type, working hand in glove with the Green-Woll clique; the rising wave of protest and strike movements in the textile regions; and the historical mass conference of progressive miners held in Pittsburgh on April 1, are all straws indicating that there are now blowing winds which are shaking up the whole composition of the working class and uprooting and changing the prevailing structure and policies of our labor movement.

To answer the above questions; to understand which way, in which direction, we are now traveling, it is necessary to have an analysis of the composition of the working class and the relations within the working class, of the effects of the present economic crisis on the

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working class, of the role of the capitalist government in the class struggle today, and of the tasks of the Communist Party in the face of the present objective conditions.

TRENDS IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

Recent years have witnessed important changes in the composition and structure of our working class. The World War precipitated a number of forces making for increasing homogeneity of the working class in the United States. The gap between the skilled and the unskilled declined. The restriction of immigration, the levelling process in wages, the role of the highly centralized government, which became more and more a strike-breaking agency even against the labor aristocracy, were among the principal forces making for the development of proletarian class consciousness on a national scale.

Under such circumstances the trade unions grew quickly. The Labor Party movement developed a mass basis under these conditions. Symbolic of this whole trend in the ranks of the working class, were the great mass strikes of 1922. The strikes of the railway shopmen, textile workers and coal miners dramatized this solidarity and sharpened the resistance on the part of the working class to the immediate postwar offensive of the American open shoppers.

Despite many counteracting forces, this basic tendency towards the increasing homogeneity of the working class has continued. The farmers who were driven off the land in the great agricultural crisis were in part assimilated and proletarianized. Large numbers of the immigrants were Americanized. There emerged a new generation of native-born workers of foreign parentage. But within the last five years, several new factors have arisen contributing towards the weakening of this tendency towards the homogeneity of our working class. First of all, hundreds of thousands of foreign-born workers have entered the country "illegally" as bootleg immigrants. According to official figures, at least 170,000, exclusive of "deserting" seamen, have in the last fiscal year alone, crossed the Canadian and Mexican borders as bootleg immigrants into the United States. We are now not speaking of the recent Mexican migration to the United States.

Furthermore, hundreds of thousands of Negroes from the South are today entering Northern industry as unskilled workers. Many more hundreds of thousands of bankrupt farmers have recently been migrating into the industrial centers. Temporarily, all these new elements are heterogeneous forces. Being mainly unskilled, they remain for the moment unorganized.

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The difference between the wage levels of the skilled labor aristocracy and the great mass of semi-skilled and unskilled workers has once more grown big. Note, for example, the trend of wages in the pig-iron industry. Take the wages of the bottom-fillers. These are unskilled workers. The wages per hour of the bottom-fillers rose from $.167 in 1914 to $.568 in 1920, or a gain of about 240%. For the same period, take the wages of the blowers who are skilled workers. The hourly wages of these workers rose from $.333 in 1914 to $.868 in 1920. Here we have a gain of only 160%. Obviously, this indicates a closing of the gap between skilled and unskilled workers during this period. Then came the great depression of 1921. The hourly wages of the bottom-fillers dropped in 1922 to $.336 or a drop of 42% in two years. The wages of the blowers (skilled) fell in the same period to $.678, or only about 21%. Here we have once more a widening of the chasm between skilled and unskilled workers' wages.

This increasing gap between the skilled and the unskilled workers' wages is very markedly indicated in a comparison of the wage-scales from 1921 to 1926. In 1921, the bottom-fillers (unskilled) drew an hourly wage of $.528. In 1926, these workers drew an hourly wage of $.475 or a drop of 10 percent. In the same time, the blowers' hourly wages rose from $.807 to $.862 or a gain of nearly 7 percent. While the unskilled were losing, the skilled were gaining. It is true, therefore, that within the last five years the position of the unskilled in relation to the skilled had not only became worse, but considerably more unstable. Instability in employment is especially hard on the unskilled workers who have less to save.

The fourth factor tending to slow down the process towards working class homogeneity, is to be found in the mounting capital exports and super-profits of American imperialism. This has enabled the American bourgeoisie to bribe increasingly the labor aristocracy for a number of years. As a result of the sharp upward movement and the dominant world position of American imperialism, for the five-year period ending March, 1927, the influence and importance of the labor aristocracy within the working class as a whole grew substantially.

FOUR SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In consequence of the above forces, four significant changes took place in our labor movement.

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Firstly: The dominant leadership of the labor movement, and consequently the official labor movement, swung to the right. The dominant trade union leadership became integrally bound up, actually partners, with the imperialist bourgeoisie. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Grand Chiefs of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers virtually became windows on Wall Street. The sweep and variety of class collaboration were a reflex of and were directly proportional to the development of American imperialism. That is why America, with the most powerful imperialism the world has yet seen, has given birth to the most extensive and varied form of class collaboration. This explains why in foreign as well as in domestic affairs, our trade union bureaucracy faces the world as dyed-in-the-wool agents and lackeys of imperialism. Herein lies the reason for Green, Woll and Company working overtime to have the American working masses drop the strike as a weapon even in self-defense. That explains why Green, Woll, Noonan and others are such ardent advocates of arbitration, of "union-management co-operation," and even of semi-company unions.

The propaganda of the so-called bona-fide trade union leaders serves to develop in the working class unlimited faith in the government. The trade union bureaucracy is today more than ever before urging the workers to trust their political fortunes to the "goodmen" charlatans of the Republican and Democratic parties. Green and his lieutenants are now fighting the labor party movement more vigorously than ever before. Even the most ruthless aggression of American imperialism does not draw the slightest protest from our official labor leadership. This leadership is even today, in the face of the gigantic open-shop conspiracy against the workers, still swinging further and further to the right.

Secondly: Most of those who were progressives six or seven years ago, and their followers, also went to the right. This trend was occasioned by three factors. The increasing strength of American imperialism enabled our bourgeoisie to widen the base of labor corruption, to broaden the labor aristocracy through the corruption of these new elements. The vicious strike-breaking policy of the government broke the workers' ranks in the national strikes of 1922. These defeats served to demoralize the erstwhile progressives who, occupying a middle position in the working class, that is, between the unskilled proletariat and the uppermost portion of the labor aristocracy, are naturally timid and wavering. Lastly, the victorious grand offensive of the capitalists and their government drove out of the

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unions nearly two million workers. These were in the main unskilled workers who joined the labor organizations during the War.

It was just these unskilled workers, these so-called new unionists, who were to a large extent the backbone of the left wing and the greatest reservoir of militancy in the trade union movement. Corrupted by imperialism, free from the pressure and robbed of the inspiration of the great mass of the unskilled workers, these former progressives could see nothing else but the crumbs thrown at them by the capitalists wallowing in super-profits. They thus swung to the right with a vengeance. It is these progressives of yesterday who became the most enthusiastic advocates of class collaboration. They did some of the dirtiest work against the left wing. Recall specifically the role of the so-called progressives (Johnston) in the B. and O. plan. We cannot forget the role of Fitzpatrick, Hillman and Nockles in the recent attacks against the left wing.

Thirdly: The number of organized workers has declined sharply in the recent years of prosperity. This is contrary to all previous experience in American labor history. The trade unions lost many hundreds of thousands of workers in the very heyday of American economic prosperity. The reason for this new phenomenon, this downward trend of trade union membership in a period of economic prosperity, is due primarily to the following forces which either did not exist at all or did not exist sufficiently in the previous periods of economic prosperity.

First of all, we must take account of the new methods of struggle applied by the bosses. We have in mind the organization and expansion of company unions, the spreading of welfare schemes, the widespread resorting to profit-sharing, the studied attempt to develop stock-ownership movements among certain sections of the working-class, the application of scientific management and personnel direction. Nor can too much emphasis be placed on the close bond between the trade union bureaucracy and the employers through the various class collaboration schemes. The latter, of course, were made largely possible by the broadened base of corruption, by the broadened labor aristocracy, developed as a result of the dominant position of American imperialism. Much attention and energy and numerous resources of many of the workers having the greatest experience in organization have thus been diverted to such fraudulent fields as labor banking, insurance schemes, real estate investments and B. and O. plans.

A decisive force among these factors is the increasing interference of the government in the most elementary, basic economic

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struggles on the side of the employers and against the workers. American imperialism has reared the most gigantic, the most deadly effective strike-breaking machinery possessed by any capitalist class in the world.

Then, the sweeping consolidation and merger movement in industry and finance, growing out of the concentration of ownership and centralization of operation has proved an invincible enemy when pitted against the more backward type of craft unionism which is still dominant in the American Federation of Labor. For example, take the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin and Steel Workers. What chance does it stand in a struggle against the United States Steel Corporation as it is now headed by J. P. Morgan?

Fourthly and finally: We must take note of the decline of the Labor Party movement. This decline was largely brought about by the sharp upward trend of American imperialism, which temporarily alleviated the agricultural crisis of 1924, and through its vast superprofits was able to corrupt and split away from the mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers the workers most experienced and best-educated organizationally. Likewise, here it must be said that no one should overlook the destructive role played by the petty-bourgeoisie (Lafollette), who took the leadership of the Labor Party movement in 1924.

THE CRISIS IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Were it not for these four unfavorable developments, the American bourgeoisie could not and would not have dared to launch its present heavy offensive against the workers. Today the capitalist class is engaged in an onslaught on the unions aiming to destroy the workers' standards of living and robbing the workers of certain elementary rights won through years of hard, determined struggle. This offensive has brought our trade union movement to the most intense crisis of its life. This grave crisis could not, however, have come without the connivance and the conscious aid of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy as a whole.

If we examine the outstanding events of the labor movement during the last year or so, we will find that this accusation is fully warranted, and that the crimes of the trade union officialdom against the rank and file of the workers cannot be depicted blackly and accurately enough. The most important events in the history of our labor movement for the last eighteen months are:

First, the bitter war of the trade union bureaucracy on the left wing and the Communists in the needle trades. The present struggle of the workers in the needle trades is one of the basic struggles in

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the American labor movement. Sweat-shop conditions will be restored if Sigman and his clique are not wiped out. Mr. Sigman is offering the same solution for the needle-trades industry that Mr. Lewis is offering for the miners. Lewis says that there are too many mines and too many miners. Sigman says there are too many needle trades workers in the industry. Sigman has been working overtime, hand in glove with the garment manufacturers, to make life miserable for the rank and file of the industry and to drive them out of the field.

Secondly, we have the war on the left wing in the Miners' Union after the progressives won the elections in the organization. In the needle trades the reactionary bureaucracy threw out the left wing leadership. In the miners' union, the reactionary bureaucracy fought to prevent a progressive and left wing leadership from obtaining control of the union after the membership had voted to have a progressive administration.

Thirdly, the new wage policy and the union-management cooperation schemes of the A. F. of L. leadership have been deliberately put forward by Green and Company to aid the bosses in their efforts to intensify the exploitation of the workers. This new wage policy of Mr. Green's is the answer of Wall Street's agents in the ranks of the labor movement to the rationalization process, to the mass production and efficiency schemes of American industry. Its sole effect has been and can only be to make the workers pay dearly for the rationalization process and to enable the bourgeoisie to gain heavily through intensified exploitation, through speed-up, and putting in company schemes at the expense of the workers.

Fourthly, we have the United States Supreme Court decision in the Bedford Stone Case, denying the workers the right to refuse to handle scab products and material. This deals a death-blow to the underlying principles of even most conservative trade union organization in the United States.

Fifthly, the wide-spread use of sweeping injunctions is having deadly effects on the labor movement. Never before have we had such injunctions as have been issued by Federal Judge Schoonmaker in the Western Pennsylvania coal fields, by Judge Hough in the Ohio coal fields, and by Judge Langham in the Central Pennsylvania coal fields. The vital issues involved in the injunction taken out by the Interborough Rapid Transit Company against the New York traction workers have not yet been settled by any means. The injunction menace is today more grave than ever before in the history of the American labor movement.

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Sixthly, the crushing blows administered to the Miners' Union are bound to have a monumental effect on the immediate future of our labor movement. The Miners' Union has been the backbone, the basically proletarian heart of the American Federation of Labor. The Miners' Union has had the most militant traditions in the American Federation of Labor. To crush the Miners' Union would be to rob the American Federation of Labor of its most militant organization, of its most proletarian corps.

Seventhly, no one can overestimate the importance of the increasing signs of resistance by the workers as shown in the continued militancy of the Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia coal fields, in the courage and tenacity displayed in the needle trades fight; in the heroism in the Colorado struggle despite tremendous obstacles. The needle trades fight has now been going on for two years. On the surface, it appears to be a struggle within the union. Actually, it is a struggle of the working masses against the employers and their pseudo-socialist labor lieutenants. The present coal strike is the longest one in the history of the country. For thirteen months the miners have put up a most inspiring battle, under the most adverse conditions—surrounded by treachery of the official leadership and in the face of the most brutal reactions of American capitalism.

Eighthly, we have the monumentally significant National Save-the-Union Conference, attended by over a thousand miners' delegates at Pittsburgh on April 1. For nearly five years, the progressives in the United Mine Workers did not dare to gather even in the smallest conferences in the open, because of the regime of terrorism instituted by the Lewis machine. The expulsion of militants sapped a good deal of the vitality of the left-wing movement. Despite indescribable difficulties, despite immeasurable suffering, more than 1,100 miners from every district in the Union gathered to pledge themselves to a renewed and invigorated struggle against the enemies within their own organization, as well as against the coal operators trying to smash whatever remnants were still left of the once powerful union.

This Conference will be only a prelude to other gatherings of progressives and militants in the various industries. This conference also represents the first genuine big mass movement expressing joint effort by the organized and unorganized for an extensive campaign to increase the membership and enhance the fight and vitality of the trade unions. The revival of the strike in Illinois, Indiana, Kansas and other fields is eloquent proof of the fighting spirit and the class

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solidarity of the American miners. The response by thousands of unorganized miners in Fayette and other counties of Pennsylvania and in West Virginia to the strike called by the National Save-the-Union Committee is a splendid tribute to the tremendous potentialities of the left wing of the American labor movement. It should serve as an inspiration to the workers and as a warning to the exploiters of what the American working class is capable of.

DARK SHADOWS OF THE MINERS' STRUGGLE

The significance for the entire working class of the reverses suffered by the United Mine Workers, primarily due to the treacherous policies of Lewis and his clique, is incalculable. Lewis and his henchmen have attempted to buy peace from the coal operators by paying them the price of the betrayal of the unorganized and by a vicious drive against the left wing and the Communist workers. The coal operators accepted Lewis's gift. Once the union was robbed of a good portion of its best blood, of its red corpuscles, then the operators could set about very freely to destroy the union with the greatest ease. This is exactly what has been happening. If the operators were to achieve the destruction of the United Mine Workers of America, it would be a disastrous defeat, not only for the miners, but for every worker in the country. Such a defeat would mean the breaking of the proletarian backbone of the American trade union movement. The destruction of the United Mine Workers of America would rob the trade union movement of the one mass union which has served as a reservoir of militancy, which has stood in the forefront of the most desperate, the most heroic and the most decisive battles of the American labor movement.

Lewis, Green, Woll and their lackeys are expecting this. They are already working on the basis that the organization is lost. They are simply trying to buy certain terms of surrender. In doing this, they are working overtime to interfere with the plans of the Save-the-Union movement, of the left wing, to extend the strike and to present a solid front of all miners to the operators. Thus, they are now trying to put over individual settlements in the Illinois and other fields. That is why Murray, Fagan and their so-called organizers are interfering with the efforts of the National Save-the-Union movement to extend the strike into the unorganized fields of Pennsylvania, into the fields so cold-bloodedly sold out by Lewis and Company in 1922.

The crisis in the labor movement today is not limited to the United Mine Workers. The entire trade union movement is facing the gravest crisis it has seen in years. The sharp attack of the

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employers is being aided and abetted by their agents, the trade union bureaucracy. The situation we have at hand can be thus estimated: After a period of five years of an almost constant upward curve in the development of American imperialism, we are in the depths of a severe economic crisis. Witness the heavy wage cuts in the coal, shoe, textile, and automobile industries. The intensified challenge to American imperialism and its active preparations for counter-attack serve only as further excuses for the bourgeoisie to bring to bear ever-greater pressure on the working masses. This accounts for the injunction epidemic. This serves as a precipitating force for the present denial of the right to strike. When the trade union bureaucracy, when the corrupt leaders of the trade union movement, surrender the strike even as a weapon of defense, or deny the militant miners strike relief, or evict striking progressive miners from the barracks put up by the Union after eviction by the coal operators, they are only doing their bit for the employing class, doing their bit as agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class.

The ravages and havoc wrought in the ranks of the labor movement by the trade union bureaucracy through its class collaboration schemes have immeasurably weakened the powers of resistance of the trade unions. This accounts in part for the barenness, the audacity, the offensive spirit the capitalist class is now showing in all its dealings with the workers. Concretely, let us look at the successes won by the coal operators with the help of Lewis in paralyzing the mine strike. In 1919, the strike of the United Mine Workers of America tied up 70 percent of production. The present strike has succeeded in tying up so far only about 20 percent of bituminous production.

The American bourgeoisie have always been bitterly opposed to trade unions. The general rule has been that the bigger the corporation, the greater its hostility to trade unionism. Thus we note that in such gigantic corporations as the General Motors, not even a company union is "given" the workers. In the present offensive against the working class, the objective of the most powerful employers (the dominating finance capital group) is to wipe out the remnants of what were once mighty trade unions and to destroy them as determinant forces in arriving at wage standards and working conditions. If the biggest exploiters have their say, only the smallest unions of the most highly skilled, or the extremely weakened ones, will be permitted to exist. Let no one lose sight of the fact that in the present period of sharpened class war, under imperialism, all genuine labor organizations, particularly those of a

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mass character are considered as a menace by the employers and are marked for destruction.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF CLASS COLLABORATION

The fact that the official labor movement has been going to the right, does not mean that the entire trade union movement is composed only of the labor aristocracy or is hopelessly reactionary. No one can deny that American imperialism is still in a position to bribe the upper stratum of the working class. But here a new force enters. The relative importance of the labor aristocracy, the extent to which it has been dominating the whole labor movement, is definitely beginning to decrease. There are a number of forces now operating to undermine class collaboration to its very foundations. These are:

1. The increasing challenge to American imperialism. The more American imperialism is weakened, the more severe the competition it faces or the more conflicts it has with other imperialist powers, the less it will be able to afford certain concessions even to the uppermost stratum of the working class.

2. The present economic depression is bound to have a tremendous effect on the class collaboration policy. We must keep in mind the fact that class collaboration has yet to weather a real economic storm.

3. The efficacy of class collaboration as a weapon in the hands of the employers against the workers, both for securing efficiency as well as industrial peace, is now diminished to a great extent because it has already largely rendered its best services.

4. No one should overlook the subjective factor. The collapse of the outstanding labor banking edifice in the country, the corruption and the scandal in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, has gone a long way towards discrediting labor banking and other class collaboration schemes in the eyes of great masses of workers. In the near future, still greater masses will thus be disillusioned. Even the reactionary A. F. of L. machine was compelled, at the Los Angeles Convention, to be a bit cautious insofar as the further expansion of labor banking was concerned.

Though class collaboration has been very much weakened in recent months, it would be a costly error for anyone to assume that it has already disappeared or that it will immediately disappear as an important force in the labor movement. It will still be with us for some time to come, unfortunately. The bankruptcy of class collaboration has begun. It is on the way. But it is not yet here.

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Class collaboration may even develop new and more vigorous and more dangerous expressions in the period of depression. All concious workers must be on guard against such developments.

EFFECT OF THE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

The present economic depression will have effects of paramount importance on the bureaucracy. The trade union bureaucracy will of course continue to play its role of agent of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The New Year letter sent out by President Green proves this very forcefully. Mr. Green greeted the employers and the public. Mr. Green begged the exploiters to continue class collaboration. The President of the American Federation of Labor tried to hide the fact that his class collaboration leadership had already so weakened the unions that many of the powerful employers did not even have any further need for class collaboration.

Mr. Green's entire policy is just one source of encouragement after another to the open-shoppers to make a frontal attack, to put the finishing touches of destruction on the trade unions. For instance, in the answer of President Green to the Interborough Rapid Transit Company's injunction issued in New York, we find only a vigorous denial of all intentions to have the New York traction workers strike in order to give voice to their right to organize. A policy of accepting the capitalist challenge and of calling the workers to break the injunction en masse stands about as much chance with Mr. Green as a snowball in hell.

The further down we go into the ranks of the bureaucracy, the deeper the differentiations we will find developing in consequence of the present economic crisis. These growing divisions in the lower ranks of the bureaucracy are signs of a helpful development in the labor movement. The conscious, the militant, the Communist workers, must fully utilize these differentiations, but must not base their policies on such divisions.

The Socialist Party no longer serves as an agency of even the faintest opposition to the corrupt trade union bureaucracy. In fact, the official Socialist leadership is now an integral part of the trade union bureaucracy. Notice the situation in the needle trades and in the present crisis in the miners' union. The Socialist Party has indicated by the decisions of its April convention that it will continue to go to the right. It will continue to serve as an integral part of the corrupt trade union bureaucracy. At this convention even the terms "class struggle" and "collective ownership" have been eradicated from the Socialist Party platform.

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We must avoid having a static concept of the progressives. The progressives of yesterday, because of new conditions of industry in the unions in which they find themselves, may today be thoroughly reactionary. New conditions, new struggles, develop new progressives. The process is dynamic. But in speaking of progressives we must keep one thing in mind all the time and above all—*We must always distinguish between progressive leaders and the progressive rank and file.* The progressives are of vital importance in the development of a left wing movement of a mass character. They serve under certain conditions as one of the levers for the development of a clear-cut, broad, left-wing movement.

One point we must emphasize with our greatest strength. The policy of the Communists, the policies of the left wing in meeting the crisis in the trade unions, in counter-acting the effects of the new economic depression on the labor organizations, must be based on the masses and on the objective conditions in which the masses find themselves. The wages of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers are going down. The whittling away of standards of working and living conditions, the intensification of exploitation, the speed-up, we now have with us on an extensive scale.

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

The more the trade union bureaucracy will go to the right, the more it will become an instrument of imperialism. The more the trade union bureaucracy will try to prevent the struggles of the workers now centering largely about basic elementary interests and rights, the greater the importance our Party assumes as the only conscious, clear, positive force of opposition to capitalist reaction on every front. The more the struggle develops over fundamental rights and living standards and working conditions, the larger will be the masses participating in these struggles, the greater will be the degree of their militancy. Finally, the more the bureaucracy will betray these masses, the greater will be the opportunity to lead these masses in struggle and to win them away from the reactionary officialdom of the trade union movement.

There is plenty of potential militancy and fighting spirit, courage and heroic resistance in the ranks of the workers. The fact that after thirteen months of struggle, many thousands of additional miners can join the strikers' ranks, as in the case of the organized fields of Illinois, Indiana, Kansas and in the unorganized territory of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, is a very encouraging sign. The fact that the workers in the New York needle trades have maintained

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their front so firmly and so solidly for so long a time is proof of the justifiability of our Party placing its full faith in these masses. The sweeping wave of resistance to wage-cuts in the textile and shoe centers, is only a further index of the growing desire and readiness to fight in the ranks of the workers. The recent strike movement in Haverhill, and the strike movements in New Bedford and Fall River, are unchallengeable evidence of the fact that the corrupt trade union bureaucracy has not succeeded in misleading all the workers.

Our Party is now assuming a much more vigorous role in leading the workers in direct struggle. Our Party is playing a much more direct role in organizing the unorganized. We do not address ourselves to the official, corrupt leadership of the trade union movement, in our appeals for the organization of the unorganized. We address ourselves only to the workers. At the same time, we do not give up any opportunity to expose the fakers to those masses who may still have some faith in them. Our policies are based on the masses. Our policies are based on mobilizing the masses for the sharpest struggle against the bourgeoisie and their agents.

Within the last six months, the Party has shown a tremendous increase in vitality, has made great progress and is assuming the leadership of masses in basic struggles. The struggle of the miners, the struggle of the needle trades workers, the strike wave of the textile workers, are all mass movements in which our Party has been playing and will continue to play a most worthy and decisive role.

Our Party has struck an inspiring, ringing note of mass violation of injunctions, of mass resistance to evictions, of cleaning out the trade unions of all company influences, of saving the trade unions from the treachery of the bureaucracy and the attacks of the employers. We have been meeting with an increasing mass response. Our Party is winning a leading position in the class struggle. Our Party is winning increasing confidence of greater and greater masses. This explains our growing influence and our rising numbers within the last months.

There is not the faintest reason for anyone being pessimistic. The present acute crisis in the trade union movement can be turned into a great victory for the whole American working class. The path to victory for the workers of the United States lies in following the policies of the Workers (Communist) Party.—American section of the Communist International.

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Two Mine Strike Strategies

By WM. Z. FOSTER

IN THE epoch-making struggle now going on in the coal industry two diametrically opposing strike strategies find themselves in conflict: that of the black Lewis machine and that of the Save-the-Union movement. Never in the history of the American labor movement has there been a clearer, more basic, and more bitter clash between the strike policies of the reactionary wing of the labor movement and those of the left elements. And never were there more weighty consequences dependent upon the outcome of such a clash than in the present strike. In the recent congress of the Profintern great stress was laid upon the necessity of studynig carefully the strike strategy and experiences in great strikes, and for us this is especially important in connection with the present struggle.

THE STRATEGY OF LEWIS

Lewis' basic strategy is one of retreat before the attacks of the employers. Allied to the employers through the capitalist parties and various industrial combinations, as well as being corrupted by them in various other ways, the Lewis leaders refuse to fight them. Their policy is one of constant backing up before the advancing employers. These venal leaders, in reality tools of the operators, intent only upon holding on to their good jobs for a while longer, stubbornly refuse to take the offensive, even though they see the union going to pieces from the ruthless attacks of the employers.

This retreat policy has been followed consistently by Lewis ever since he got hold of the UMWA. In 1919 his famous back down in the face of the Federal injunction was a typical example of his runaway policy, which has wrought such havoc to the union. The betrayal of the Fayette-Westmoreland-Somerset miners in 1922, the splitting of the anthracite miners from the bituminous miners and the signing of the five year hard coal agreement in 1925, were additional outstanding expressions of the same destructive policy. His failure to invade the unorganized territory and to unite the workers there for struggles in the teeth of the operators' opposition was also of the same category. For the past nine years the employers have been militantly on the offensive, the Lewis machine just as diligently running away, sacrificing the organization, wages and working conditions of the miners as they run.

In the present strike Lewis and the corrupt crowd affiliated with him continue this retreat policy. Even before the strike began they executed a vast movement to the rear by abandoning the policy of

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the Central Competitive Field agreement and by adopting the program of separate operator and district agreements. Their policy is ever to back up. One manifestation of this is their program of isolating the strike to as small a section of the industry as possible, to sacrifice the most sharply attacked sections if a few remnants can be pulled out of the struggle here and there by means of separate agreements. Likewise, they seek to narrow down the struggle ideologically, tactically, and every other way. They refuse to see in the present attack against the union a part of a general plan to wipe out the UMWA, a section of the nationwide open shop drive to smash the whole trade union movement. They pretend to see in it only the work of certain "bad" and "unfair" operators who can be brought to terms through appeals to Coolidge, Senate Investigations, etc. They systematically seek to kill off all militancy among the miners and to reduce the strike to a sort of friendly dispute between parties who for the moment misunderstand each other.

The general effect of such a strategy is of course disastrous. The operators are able to attack the union when and where they please. Never is the full power of the miners brought to bear against them. In consequence the operators are rapidly tearing the union to pieces.

THE STRATEGY OF THE SAVE-THE-UNION MOVEMENT

The basic strategy of the Save-the-Union movement is to defeat the offensive of the operators by a great counter-offensive of the miners. Lewis seeks to narrow down the fight; the Save-the-Union movement seeks to broaden and deepen it. The one is a policy of class surrender; the other of class struggle.

Especially the conscious elements among the miners recognize the basic issues involved in the present struggle and draw the proper conclusions from them. They understand that the attack of the coal operators upon the Miners Union aims primarily to wipe out the organization and to render the miners helpless in the face of the employers' exploitation, and that, moreover, this assault, part of the general policy of American imperialism, is directed against the whole trade union movement. Hence they draw the basically correct conclusion, which is supported by the Save-the-Union movement in practice, that the miners' fight is a broad class issue, and that not only should the entire body of miners be drawn into it, but also, to the greatest extent possible, the broad ranks of the working class.

To win the present strike is of the most basic importance. If it were lost it would throw demoralization and discouragement into the ranks of the miners for years to come. It can only be won by bringing to bear the greatest possible weight against the operators.

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Hence the policy of the Save-the-Union movement is to extend the present strike into a national strike, drawing in all categories of miners. But inasmuch as the Lewis machine, which still controls the apparatus of the union, its funds, etc., is flatly opposed to this policy, it can be put into effect only as fast and as far as the opposition forces can break the power of the Lewis machine and win over the masses of organized and unorganized miners.

As against the narrowing down policy of Lewis, the Save-the-Union movement seeks to broaden out the struggle by (1) holding solid the present body of strikers through active picketting, extensive relief work, resistance to separate agreements, etc., (2) organizing the masses of unorganized miners and drawing them into the strike, (3) breaking down the isolation of the anthracite miners and bringing them into the struggle. The Save-the-Union movement also sharpens the fight generally through intensive mass picketting, mass violations of injunctions, and general clarification of the miners as to the real meaning of the strike. It systematically develops the widest possible counter-offensive against the operators.

THE CONFLICT OF THE STRATEGIES

Which of these two strategies shall prevail, whether the narrowing down policy of Lewis or the broadening out policy of the Save-the-Union movement, is decisively important. If the former, it means defeat for the miners; if the latter, victory.

One of the major aspects of the strike struggle is the battle between the Lewis forces and those of the opposition movement regarding which strategy shall go into effect. The decision hinges upon which group can control the masses of miners. The Save-the-Union movement is making the most energetic battle to win over the masses and to draw them into the fight. After a long process of stirring up the membership, the great Pittsburgh conference of April 1st was held. This is now being followed by movements in all the districts for the holding of conventions at which the opposition forces will proceed to declare vacant the offices of Lewis' henchmen and take control of the union.

Besides in many local unions the opposition is now displacing Lewis' henchmen from office and replacing them by those of the opposition.

The fight for control of the miners is also going on upon the picket line. As Lewis, following his strategy of narrowing down the strike, signs separate agreements and sends the men back to

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work, the Save-the-Union forces must picket the mines and keep them out on strike.

Similarly, the Save-the-Union movement seeks to win the masses of unorganized miners for its strategy by carrying on widespread campaigns of organization among the miners of Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

MACHINE TERRORISM

The Lewis machine makes no less energetic efforts to hang on to such control as it has. It is using every form of terrorism against the opposition forces. Large numbers of individuals and many local unions have been expelled. With the help of state police and other "peace" officers, the Lewis organizers have broken up meetings of the opposition. It will unhesitatingly split the union to prevent itself from being removed from control of the organization. It goes ahead signing individual agreements with whatever operators it can, depending upon hunger and the whiplash of the operators to drive the men back to work. Its latest crime in trying to coerce the men into following its strategy being the removal from the relief list of large numbers of workers, who have been on strike for over a year, because they support the opposition.

So far the opposition has got the best of it in this decisive struggle of strategies. Rapidly Lewis' power is being broken in the union, especially among the bituminous miners. In many cases where Lewis has signed up mines the men, supporters of the opposition, have refused to go back to work. In the strike zone, due to the rise of the opposition movement, the struggle has become much more militant and intense. Among the unorganized the Save-the-Union forces have made decided headway.

Undoubtedly at the present time the tendency is for the opposition to force more and more its strategy into effect, in spite of the treachery of the Lewis machine. The strike gradually spreads and becomes more militant. But the battle is an exceedingly difficult one. The strikers in Pennsylvania and Ohio have been out for a year and in many cases they are on the verge of starvation. The tasks of organizing the unorganized, of drawing in the anthracite miners, are enormous. The need for strike relief is vast and imperative. The power of Lewis to betray the miners through individual agreements with the operators is great. If necessary, the Lewis machine will come to some sort of a company union agreement with the operators, accepting wage reductions, and seek to literally drive the men back to work.

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Can the opposition break through all these obstacles? Can it pull the miners out and hold them out, in spite of Lewis treachery, in spite of the evident determination of the operators to break up the union, in spite of the persecution of the government? It is a terrific task. But it must be accomplished. It is one that calls for the fullest support not only of our party but of every intelligent militant in the country. Failure would have far-reaching and disastrous consequences to the workers generally. The Miners' strike must be won at all costs. The strike-breaking strategy of Lewis must be broken down, and the strike-winning strategy of the Save-the-Union committee must be carried through to success.

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IMPERIALIST WAR

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Pacifism and War

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

"Whereas the American nations should always be inspired by solidary co-operation for justice and the general good;

"Whereas nothing so obstructs such co-operation as the use of violence;

"Whereas there is no international controversy, no matter how serious, which cannot be settled pacifically if the parties thereto sincerely desire to reach a pacific solution; and

"Whereas wars of aggression are an international crime against humanity: The hereby resolves:

"1. That every act of aggression is considered illegal and is therefore declared forbidden.

"2. That the American States shall employ all pacific means to settle the disputes which may arise between them."

IF we were to offer the readers of *The Communist* a prize to guess who introduced the above resolution and by what body it was adopted, the majority of our readers would guess that it was introduced by presidential candidate Norman Thomas and adopted by a convention of the Socialist Party. Other guesses would be—an A. F. of L. convention; a Conference of the Federal Council of Churches; a Congress of the Second International; or a Senate Resolution proposed by Borah, Shipstead or Brookhart.

Let us examine the language of the resolution. What is lacking to make it a model Socialist Party resolution on War? "Solidary co-operation . . . justice and general good . . . no use of violence . . . . no international controversy which cannot be settled pacifically . . . . wars of aggression an international crime against humanity . . . ." Surely this is Socialist Party language!

Yet all of the above guesses would be wrong. The missing words in the resolution are "Sixth International Council of American States" and the resolution was one fostered by Hughes, Kellog and Coolidge and adopted by the Sixth Conference of the Pan-American Union recently held in Havana while fresh contingents of American marines were being sent to Nicaragua. Similar language is being proposed by those champions of Peace, Kellog and Briand in an international exchange of notes at the present moment. The resolution is the work of outstanding spokesmen of American imperialism at a conference dominated by and called in the interests of the imperialist government of the United States.

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If we add to the above resolution the epidemic of disarmament conferences, the negotiations for a network of international treaties outlawing war and providing for arbitration, and the outspoken opposition to war and avowed intention to banish it as expressed by spokesmen of the big imperialist governments of the world, we may perhaps come to the conclusion that these governments have been convinced by the Social-Democratic propaganda addressed to them and that war is about to be banished forever from the face of the earth by enlightened and civilized capitalist governments.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

This article is being written eleven years after the United States entered the last war in order to make it "the last war. . . . the war to end all wars." Five times as much is now being spent for preparation for the next war by the Government of the United States as it spent before the last war.

> "Six great powers, the United States, England, France, Italy, Germany and Japan have increased their aggregate military expenditures 70% since before the war whereas the United States increased its expenditures by 400%." [1]

Feverish propaganda for and construction of bigger competitive aerial fleets is being carried on by the Imperialist powers, also under the banner of "good will" and "international peace." (Lindbergh, Fitzmaurice, Koehl, Huenefeld,[2] Nobile, Lebrix and Costes are only a few of the latest crop of "good will fliers".)

> "During the last four years, the air fleet of the United States has increased 67 percent, of England 82 percent, Japan 100 percent, France 22 percent, Italy 220 percent and of the States bordering the U. S. S. R., more than 100 percent." [3]

Chemical warfare having been declared "barbarous" and treaties having been drafted for its "outlawing," experiments with and production of poison gases of new kinds and more deadly potency are being speeded up to maximum capacity.

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1. Agitprop Bulletin of the Y. W. L. on "The War Danger and the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union."
2. The New York *Times* of April 14, 1928, carries the item: "A report to the Convention (Socialist National Convention—B. D. W.) late last night of the safe arrival of the German flight plane on the Labrador coast was received with cheers. Mr. Hillquit had to repeat the message when the demonstration of three or four minutes had ceased." The plane referred to was the one bearing Baron von Huenefeld, Captain Koehl and General Fitzmaurice and the flight that was so cheered was undertaken as German nationalist and monarchist propaganda and propaganda for the reactionary Irish "Free" State Government with which British imperialism oppresses the Irish people.
3. Y. W. L. Agitprop bulletin.

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War in the air, mechanical warfare, war with chemicals and bacteria, war with death rays and robots, war in which there will be no difference between the front and the rear, war in which industrial centers hundreds and thousands of miles behind the lines can be bombed, gassed, poisoned, infected with plagues and wiped out, war of such a character that if it is not ended in time by the overthrow of capitalism gives promise of ending with the destruction of civilization—such is the groundswell to which the disarmament conferences, non-aggression treaties and good-will flights are minor but essential accompaniments.

Ten years since the end of the war to end all wars and there is a piling up of antagonism which make the period 1900 to 1914 look like a period of idyllic peace in comparison. The antagonism between England and the United States has taken the place of the competitive struggle between England and Germany of the pre-1914 days. The United States has announced that Britannia shall no longer rule the waves with a navy equal to that of the two next highest nations, but that the United States shall have a "navy second to none." The continent of Europe is a network of antagonisms in which innumerable "little wars" have gone on since the Versailles treaty. The Pacific is another powder magazine. The government of the United States is engaged in a war on Nicaragua and another on the Chinese revolution. The government of Great Britain is warring on China, Egypt, India and peoples of the near East. The atmosphere is charged with imperialist antagonisms and war preparations as never before in human history.

Greater even than the imperialist antagonisms is the antagonism of the imperialist powers towards the Soviet Union. The Arcos raid, the breaking off of Anglo-Soviet relations, the Peking Raid, the assassination of Voikoff, the rejection of the gold bullion sent to the United States—are only a few of the monstrous acts of provocation against the Soviet Union.

Only the deliberate and energetic peace policy of the U. S. S. R. has so far prevented the outbreak of this war of the united imperialist governments against the working class and oppressed peoples of the world.

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WHAT ARE THE PACIFISTS DOING?

In the face of this accumulation of antagonisms, these war preparations, these wars in progress and these obvious plots and provocations, only the feeble-minded or those who wish to deceive and blindfold the working class can declare that the war danger is being exaggerated or is non-existent or that war is being averted or outlawed or abolished by peace pacts, disarmament conferences and non-aggression treaties.

The fact of the matter is (1) that there is a greater accumulation of antagonisms than there was prior to 1914; (2) that there is greater preparation on the part of all the leading imperialist nations than in 1914; (3) that we are on the eve of a world war far more terrible and gigantic than the last one; (4) that it may be postponed a few years or may come the day after tomorrow but that it cannot be prevented except by the overthrow of capitalism and the abolition of the system that breeds wars and is breeding the present one.

The governments of the Great Powers are keenly awake to this and are preparing with maximum speed and energy. Their preparation consists of the strengthening of the military front (recruiting, drilling, militarization, fleets, airplanes, chemicals and technical equipment) and of the strengthening of the rear for the coming war.

In the countries where the Socialist Party is a government or near government party it is helping imperialism in the strengthening of the military front. (Boncour's universal service measure, MacDonald's increase of fleet and strengthening of imperialism while prime minister, secret conferences of William Green with the war college of the U. S.) In all countries, the Socialist Parties and the pacifists generally are helping with the second form of preparation, the strengthening of the rear.

PACIFISM AS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF WAR PREPARATIONS

All imperialist governments become more and more "pacifistic" the closer they come to war. Prior to the War of 1914 to 18 there was a whole epidemic of Hague Peace Conferences and peace and arbitration treaties. The Nobel prize for "distinguished service in the cause of peace" was successively awarded to Theodore Roosevelt, Kaiser Wilhelm and Czar Nicholas.

Now there is a similar epidemic of disarmament conferences (each of which seems to have boosted armament enormously),

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treaties outlawing chemical warfare (after the adoption of which chemical warfare preparations were enormously speeded up), arbitration and non-aggression pacts. The Nobel prize should now be awarded to Chamberlain, to Briand and to Kellogg. Or perhaps America is entitled to additional ones for Coolidge and Hughes.

The purposes of each imperialist government in this pacifist propaganda are: to still alarm and lessen the preparation of the workers while increasing imperialist preparedness; to prepare the pacific and cultural slogans under which the war is to be fought; to prove to the masses that it was attacked and forced into the war, that it tried to avert it, that it entered ill-prepared, that the war is a "defensive war," a war against war, a war in the interests of peace, a war against the disturber of peace.

ON DEFENSIVE AND AGGRESSIVE WARS

At present there is a silly argument going on about defensive and aggressive wars. The whole argument is intended to deceive the masses. Both Kellogg and Briand are maneuvering to convince the masses of their respective countries that their government is striving to maintain peace and that war, when it comes will be for the defense of the fatherland against unwarranted aggression.

The whole concept of aggressive wars and defensive wars between imperialist powers that are fighting with each other for the division and redivision and domination of the earth is a meaningless one. "Who began it?" is a matter of clever maneuvering. Did England begin war on Germany in 1914 or did Germany by invading Belgium really declare war on England first? Did Serbia begin war on Austria by the assassination of the Archduke at Sarajevo or did Austria start it by her subsequent ultimatum? The United States declared war on Germany after repeated negotiations of the German government to prevent it, but was no less able to pronounce its war a defensive one. Imperialism begets such wars, all the imperialist nations prepare for them in the name of peace, all seek the best moment and the most favorable *form* in which to be properly "provoked," and all use with striking success their weapons of propaganda to prove that they are on the defensive.

When it comes to wars against oppressed peoples or against the land where the workers rule it is for the working class and their allies a war of defense no matter who fired the first shot. Does it

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really matter to us whether Jim Connolly's revolutionaries fired the first shot in Easter 1916 or the British government's troops fired the first shot? (Was it really important who fired the first shot at Lexington?) Is it of fundamental significance whether the Chinese revolutionaries fired the first shot to drive out the imperialist invader or whether they answered shots of the forces of occupation? We hope that the revolutionaries got in the first lick, but it is not of great importance and surely does not lessen our support to know that they fired second.

Perhaps Kellogg will tell us that in Nicaragua we are defending our hearths and homes and country from the aggressive attack of Sandino? If he can prove to us that Sandino fired the first shot at Wall Street's invading force, we'll say to Kellogg "good for him!" If not: "We're with the Nicaraguan revolution just the same." We are for the defense of the Soviet Union and will rightly regard it as a just war of defense against imperialist attack regardless of what the Imperialist Propaganda machine may tell us about the first shot.

We Communists do not fight against war "generally" and in the abstract. We fight against imperialist and counter-revolutionary war, but support and *lead* revolutionary wars of the proletariat and of the oppressed peoples against capitalism and imperialism and know that we cannot end the system that breeds war without a struggle against capitalism and imperialism. We are against imperialist wars regardless of how successfully they are masked under the slogan of the "defense of the fatherland." But as far as the Soviet Union is concerned and the oppressed colonial peoples, we are for the defense of the fatherland.

THE ROLE OF "LEFT" PACIFISM

Official Government pacifism is one of its weapons in strengthening the rear and preparing for war. But Government propaganda cannot take in everybody. The more awakened workers, the more class conscious ones, have contempt for Kellogg and his pronouncements. Here's where the labor pacifist steps in.

> "The War system dies hard," writes S. O. Levinson in *The Tailor* of April 3, 1928.[4] "It can hardly be said that the death struggle is on but *as events are moving rapidly the mortal struggle is beginning to manifest itself*. . . . (Emphasis mine throughout all quotations used in this article—B. D. W.).

4. *The Tailor*, Official Organ of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. The title of the article is *Outlawry in* 1928.

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"To our administration goes the credit . . . The Kellogg proposal will become the great foreign policy of the United States. No policy comparable to it has ever been enunciated by any government . . . only the ironclad padlock of the *war system in Europe* will dare to reject it. . . .

"We have got down to a simple proposition. Do the *European nations* want to abolish war or do they not. . . .

"Shall we *destroy* this institution (of war) by general treaty and change of international law, or shall we wade through the blood of another war before we have sense enough to do it?

"Here is the challenge. Here also is the opportunity for all lovers of peace *to stand by our country, to hail the Kellogg proposal as the people's movement for the overthrow of the intolerable war system.*"

Here is a classic example of the service of labor imperialism in drugging and fooling the masses, in telling them that peace can be attained by agreements between imperialist powers, in helping to cover up war preparations and to give a labor and radical coloring to the acts of the most powerful imperialist reactionary government, in seeking to conceal from the masses the fact that peace can be obtained only by the abolition of the capitalist system. The Socialist Party National Convention has just (April 17, 1928) adopted a resolution in favor of "non-aggression" and "war-outlawry" pacts in precisely the same way.

SELLING PREPAREDNESS

Even a bill to put the finishing touches on war preparations is introduced into Congress dressed up in the feathers of the dove of peace and bearing an olive branch in its beak. House Resolution 264 introduced on April 8, 1928 provides for the creation of a commission to draft a bill providing "the mobilization of the nation as a whole . . . the duty of all citizens to contribute to the Nation's success in war . . . employment of the experience of recent wars to work out . . . while we are yet at peace . . . policies to be pursued when war shall come . . . to empower the President immediately to mobilize all the resources of the country . . . ." It was introduced by Representative Wainwright of the House Committee on Military affairs.

And the bill is entitled: "Joint Resolution *to promote peace* and to equalize the burdens and minify the profits of war."

Radical trimmings were put upon substantially the same measure at the recent convention of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota (March 25-7, 1928) when the resolutions committee

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unanimously endorsed a resolution supporting the American Legion's proposal for a bill to draft men and resources in war time. The measure was defeated on the floor but only to be substituted by a more cleverly camouflaged pacifist resolution.

The April 1928 *Bulletin of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor* goes one step farther by openly supporting the Administration's Naval Construction Program. It declares that the Metal Trades Department "gave active support to the bill" . . . because "it is folly or worse, in the world as it is today, to support any policy that would seriously weaken the nation's capacity for *defense*." It is in favor of a navy second to none. It warns that "there are nations whose activities make it evident war may be a possibility," etc., etc. Back of this policy is, in addition to the motives that explain the treachery of all sections of the A. F. L. leadership the special bribery involved in the shipyards and navy yards cost-plus contracts for certain privileged sections of the American labor aristocracy.[5]

THE ROLE OF THE PROGRESSIVES

In preparing and strengthening the rear for war there is a peculiar division of labor. The government fools all those who believe in it. The "Left Wing" of the government, the "Progressives" serve to fool the discontented petty-bourgeoisie who are restless under the oppression of Wall Street and those sections of the workers and poor farmers who have petty-bourgeois tendencies and illusions. The Socialists peddle the same propaganda still more radically dressed for the consumption of those who may question the capitalist system altogether.

A word as to the "Progressives." Mr. Borah is the father of the Kellogg proposal to outlaw war. Messrs. Borah, Shipstead and Company tried to head off the discontent occasioned by the invasion of Nicaragua by denouncing and "investigating" that invasion and, having won the confidence of many of the protesting elements, voted to kill the Heflin resolution against the Nicaraguan war because it "might embarrass" Kellogg at the Pan-American conference. Heflin helped to kick up a dust by making the Nicaraguan protest an anti-catholic fight in place of an anti-imperialist fight. Brookhart "introduced a resolution calling on the United States as *having an interest in a prospective canal in Nicaragua* to take over the Nicaraguan National debt (a la Dawes plan) and refinance it at a low rate in order *to rescue it from the hands of New York bankers*."

5. See Little Red Library Pamphlet No. 9, "Class Collaboration, How it Works." Pages 9 and 10.

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The Farmer-Labor Association Convention in St. Paul, at the dictation of Shipstead agents passed a resolution calling upon "our representatives in Congress to *continue to do* all within their power to get the marines out of Nicaragua *as soon as possible.*"

And Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party proposed resolutions to get the marines out "as soon as possible" and "immediately after the elections."

From Kellogg to Thomas—the united front of betrayal and deception is complete. And admitting for the sake of argument, tho it is unbelievable, that some sections of this united front of reaction really believe the mischievous and dangerous nonsense they are preaching, then these "sincere but misguided" misleaders are the most dangerous of all and must be fought the hardest and exposed the most completely.

HOW THE SOCIALIST PARTY COMPLETES THE WAR MACHINE

The Socialist Party leadership has long been the "Left Wing" of the war propaganda machine. It serves this purpose in many ways. I cite only a few of them:

1. By underestimating the War Danger. Examples: The Kautskian (and Hillquit-Thomas) theory that imperialism is only a "policy" that capitalist nations can adopt or reject, and not a stage of capitalism which can only be ended by its overthrow. (Theory of super-imperialism. Advocacy of imperialist agreements as a means of ending war.)

2. By supporting the maneuvers of imperialism. Examples: (a) Support of the League of Nations by Hillquit and Thomas and the leaders of the European social democracy. This is most dangerous in its critical or "left" form which demands "improvements" in that instrument of imperialism and reaction. In 1919 the American Socialist Party declared of the League:

> "The true aim of this alliance of capitalist powers is to safeguard their plunder, to bully and dominate the weak nations, to crush proletarian governments and to thwart everywhere the movements of the working class. . . . The so-called League of Nations is the capitalist black international against the rise of the working class. It is the conscious alliance of the capitalists of all nations against the workers of all nations."[6]

Yet in 1924 Norman Thomas wrote:

> ". . . the League has become an organ of nascent internationalism —a development strengthened by radical victories in England and France. But only after a revision of its constitution and of the

6. Manifesto of Socialist Party, 1919.

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peace treaties can it become an effective instrument of world co-operation and hence of world peace."[7]

In April 1928, at its National Convention, the Socialist Party adopted a resolution in favor of America's entrance into the League of Nations and its "further democratization." Hillquit even proposed that America's entrance be "without reservations." Even the petty-bourgeois progressives are thus to the left of the Socialist Party in their opposition to the "black international."

(b) By support of the Dawes plan put across with the aid of MacDonald, Herriot, Boncour and the German Social Democrats. Of this Norman Thomas writes:

> "Hence at last the Dawes report, whose adoption was made possible on the one hand by the rising strength and capacity of the radical leaders MacDonald and Herriot, and on the other by the business demands of international bankers, traders and investors. . . . It represents at best not a settlement *but a step toward it* . . . probably as much as can be *gained* until vindictive nationalism and profit-seeking capitalism have *still further ebbed in power*.(!)"[8]

This was written at a time when the Dawes plan was being introduced to strengthen and stabilize European capitalism and strengthen the domination of American imperialism.

(c) By support of Locarno, the various "disarmament" conferences and "non-aggression pacts."

3. By attacking war in general in place of attacking reactionary and counter-revolutionary imperialist wars and supporting revolutionary wars and wars for national freedom of oppressed peoples.

4. By setting up a myth of defensive and aggressive wars as between imperialist powers.

5. By the pretense that war can be ended forever without the overthrow of capitalism or that capitalism can be "banished" without an armed struggle against it. Thus Norman Thomas writes: "How can we prevent war save by a revolution which in itself will involve war?" and he answers his own question as follows:

> "The communists . . . generally believe that such a revolution must come. They are against pacifism not because they love violence (Thomas isn't always so kind to us) but because they see no other way to get lasting peace. . . . Such a belief . . . is made by the

7. *The Challenge of War.* By Norman Thomas. Published by League for Industrial Democracy (a camouflaged S. P. organization run by Norman Thomas) 1924. p. 38.

8. Ibid, p. 27. (Quotations are selected from Thomas in this article rather than from other Socialist "theoreticians" because he is the party's candidate for President and has a reputation for being to the "left" of the offices.)

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nature of modern war a counsel of despair. More than that, it does too little justice to the possibilities of such peaceful progress as is taking place with the growth of labor and socialist parties, and finally of *'non-violent coercion' as a method of constructive revolution.*(!!!)

" . . . it is by the strike rather than the sword that labor has won its victories. It is by the general strike that European labor at the great Hague conference in December, 1922, resolved to oppose a new outbreak of international war. It is by non-co-operation rather than by violent revolt that India, inspired by Gandhi, has made its progress toward unity and freedom. (It was Gandhi's propaganda for passive resistance that temporarily broke the back of the Indian revolutionary movement—B. D. W.).

". . . with such examples before us it is impossible to despair of man's achieving a task of social engineering in the cause of peace. . . . The answer to the challenge (of war) will be given neither by futile sentimentalists nor by cynical materialists (!) but by those who stand ready *to pay the price of peace in thought, in organization, and in* action."[9]

PROPAGANDA FOR COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY WAR

6. By attacks upon and propaganda against the Soviet Union thus preparing the mobilization of the masses by imperialism for its war against the Soviet Union. The Socialist Parties, ably aided by the Trotsky opposition, attack and deny the proletarian character of the Soviet Government, deny that it is building or can build socialism, declare that it is going back or has gone back to capitalism (and why should we defend a capitalist—or Kulak-Nepman's—government?) They compare Bolshevism (dictatorship of the working class) with fascism (dictatorship of capitalism)—Berger did this in a resolution introduced into Congress. They compare the red terror for the defense of the working class against counter-revolution, with the white terror in the capitalist countries for the defense of capitalism against the working-class revolutionary movement. The Socialist Party did this in its National Convention of April, 1928.

They ridicule the proposals of the Soviet Union at the Geneva conference as made in "bad faith" because they were made to expose the fake nature of the "disarmament" conference to the masses of the workers of the world, but endorse the fake disarmament conferences of the imperialist powers as made in "good faith" and as the "hope of mankind" for the abolition of war.

They talk about the pacific intentions of their imperialist governments while they are attacking China and preparing to attack the

9. Ibid, pp. 42, 43.

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Soviet Union, belittle the earnest efforts of the Soviet Union to prevent imperialist war, deny the value and necessity of a struggle against imperialism and help the imperialists to recruit and bewilder the masses for an attack on the Soviet Union by mystifying phrases about "red imperialism."

They call upon the Soviet Union to "set an example" to the imperialist powers by disarming at the very moment imperialism is building an iron ring around it and preparing to attack it. They justify the breaking of relations by Britain and follow it by a breaking of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee. They make drives for the expulsion of the Communists from the trade unions simultaneously with drives to harness the unions to the bosses and the war machine. By talk about "red imperialism" attacks upon "red terror," denunciation of Bolshevism as a "menace to civilization" (meaning a menace to capitalism) and as "Asiatic" and a "menace to Western democratic institutions" (meaning capitalist government institutions) they actually prepare the slogans with which imperialism will wage its attack. One can already hear those slogans: "Save Civilization," "Make the World Safe for Western Democratic Institutions," fight the "Red Terror," "Defeat Bolshevik Barbarism," "Hold Back the Asiatic Hordes."

(*To be concluded in the next issue.*)

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Certain Basic Questions Of Our Perspective

By JOHN PEPPER

OUR American party is today engaged in greater struggles of the working class than ever before in its history. The struggle in the needle trades, the new strike wave in the textile industry, and most of all the royal battle of the miners are occupying all the forces, all the resources of the Party. We are facing a peculiar situation. The Communist Party of America is small. Its forces are very limited, and yet there is no economic or political struggle of the working class of America in which the Communist Party does not play the leading role, does not serve as the organizing and driving force.

The American Federation of Labor and its component parts refuse to lead any strike struggles. The Socialist Party in its last convention officially repudiated the very idea of the class struggle. The officialdom of the labor movement sabotages the basic task: the organization of the vast masses of unorganized. The Communist Party, and only the Communist Party, is today the champion of the class struggle of the working class of America. The Communist Party, and only the Communist Party, is today the driving force in all strike movements. The Communist Party, and only the Communist Party, is today the sole conscious organizing force among the millions of unorganized.

Recent articles by Comrade Foster give a clear and thoroughgoing analysis of the present crisis in the American labor movement. Developments during the last few weeks have proven the correctness of this analysis. We can today maintain that certain contours of the future picture of the American labor movement are beginning to show themselves. The Save-the-Union movement among the miners, the mill committee organizations of the textile workers, and the left-wing organizations of the various needle trades are the first forms of the future methods, organizations, and leadership of the American trade union movement.

New facts, new forms, new phenomena—create the necessity of giving careful consideration to the next perspective facing us and the American labor movement.

The Communist Party of America is in the midst of the biggest battles it has ever had in all its history. The Party as a whole, all of its units, and its entire membership is over-burdened with work. Many party comrades have the feeling that we are engaged in a

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struggle beyond our strength. Some comrades are even inclined to feel that the burden laid upon our Party by the present strike struggle and organizing drives is too great, that our Party, numerically weak and in many respects inexperienced, will not be able to hold up under the strain of the fight. There are some tendencies among our ranks to think that the work of our Party is broadening out too extensively, and that there will be a danger of our not being able to build our Party intensively enough.

There is a feeling in some sections of our Party that we are drifting, that we are led by events, carried away by struggles as they occur, that we have no clear conception of the future, that there is a certain lack of perspective. Indeed, it is true that our Party is not able to make its own choice about its own campaigns, but this is inevitable. Not we, but circumstances, conditions, history are making up our order of business. It would be childish to think that any true Communist Party can have a conception, a "plan," which must be carried out irrespective and which should not let itself be disturbed by "unexpected" events, by new struggles which were not foreseen in the "program."

The problems of our immediate perspective can be reduced to two basic questions: the Labor Party issue and the relation of the existing trade-union movement to the problem of the organization of the unorganized. My last article in the April issue of *The Communist* tried to give an answer to the perspective on the Labor Party problem. In this article I shall endeavor to take up the other basic question: that of the relation of the existing trade-union movement to the organization of the unorganized workers.

We must give ourselves a clear account. Is it the historic task of the Communist Party to organize the unorganized? What are the future prospects of the existing trade-union movement? Does the organization of new unions imply the exodus of Communists from the existing trade unions? What is the relation between our work in the reactionary trade unions and the formation of new unions of the unorganized masses? Is it possible to separate our two historic tasks: the penetration of the existing trade unions and the organization of the unorganized workers?

It is all the more necessary to give a definite and clear answer to these questions because there are not only certain doubts and uncertainties in the minds of some of our party members but also a certain lack of understanding of these basic problems of the American party on the part of some of our comrades outside of America. The thesis of the February plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International gives a brief but very clear and satis-

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factory answer to these basic problems of our movement. But at the same time such a distinguished and experienced leader of the Red International of Labor Unions as Comrade Losovsky directed a sharp attack on the tactics of the Communist Party of America. Comrade Losovsky, who certainly is on e of the best authorities on the international trade-union movement and whose words carry great weight, has made very serious accusations in regard to the trade union tactics of the American party, accusations which can be explained only by a certain lack of knowledge of the facts of the American labor movement and a certain lack of clarity as to the tactical line of the Communist International on the trade-union field.

Comrade Losovsky, in his article in the March 15, 1928 issue of the English edition of the Communist International, accuses the American party of doing nothing but "dance quadrilles continually around the American Federation of Labor and its trade unions and trade union-lets." It is evident that the criticism of Comrade Losovsky is not directed against the American party because he thinks that it is doing too much trade-union work. It is evident, too, that his critical remarks are not directed against the American party because it is dancing quadrilles, such old-fashioned dances, and not the newer fancy dances in vogue like the Charleston or Black Bottom. The indictment by Comrade Losovsky is made against the American party because the American party performs any sort of "dances" at all around the American Federation of Labor. In other words, he accuses the American party of neglecting the organization of the unorganized and of concerning itself too one-sidedly with the struggle to penetrate the organizations of the American Federation of Labor.

In the same article Comrade Losovsky also raises the following question: "What hinders our American comrades from commencing at last the work of organizing the unorganized?" And he answers that question immediately and definitely: "The lack of understanding, the erroneous interpretation of the united-front tactics have hindered the American comrades from tackling this task."

We have to answer: The problem cannot be disposed of in such a simple way. No one in the American party will deny that the Party has many shortcomings, is in many respects inexperienced, and reacts somewhat slowly and reluctantly to new problems, but certainly it would be a very superficial analysis to see the shortcomings of the American party as the only obstacles in carrying out the great historic task of the organization of the unorganized. Any analysis

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which endeavors to tackle the problem in a serious way should include an enumeration of at least the following obstacles which hinder us in carrying out the tremendous task of organizing the vast millions of unorganized workers:

1. We are hindered by the fact that capitalism in America is still very strong and is still on its upward grade.
2. We are hindered by the fact that the American working class as a whole is in a privileged position.
3. We are hindered by the fact that America has the broadest, the mightiest stratum of a labor aristocracy.
4. We are hindered by the fact that the proletariat of the basic industries and of the gigantic plants is composed of foreign-born workers talking in three-score different languages.
5. We are hindered by the fact that we have the mightiest government of finance capital, and that this Government oppresses the working class with its troops, police, courts, and tries to crush all labor organizations.
6. We are hindered by the fact that the organized employers are carrying on a nation-wide campaign for the open shop and for company unionism.
7. We are hindered by the fact that the most important sections of the steel, coal, and textile workers are forced to live in company towns in which the bosses own everything—ground, houses, roads, schools, stores, in which the capitalists own the State power directly and have a whole system of their own police and labor spies.
8. We are hindered by the "insignificant" circumstance that the industries in America are trustified from top to bottom. We should not forget that in Europe the trade unions of unskilled workers were organized in a period prior to trustification. In that stage it was easier to organize these workers. In the America of today at a period of the highest development of trustification the resistance, the pressure of the capitalists and their Government is much greater and more effective than in previous periods in other countries.
9. We are hindered by the fact that the Communist Party of America is still weak, not strong enough numerically, that we are forced to take over this great historic task—which we cannot avoid under any circumstances—with very limited, very weak forces.

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If Comrade Losovsky raises the question as to what hinders us in the organization of the unorganized, we cannot be satisfied with his sole, simple answer. Even the slightest attempt at a serious analysis should include at least the above-enumerated nine answers.

Is it true that the American party has no clear understanding of the organization of the unorganized? That accusation has no foundation at all. Passaic, the needle trades' struggle, the present textile strike, the mill committee movement, the Save-the-Union movement among the miners—all these movements, which are inseparably linked up with the struggle for the organization of the unorganized—and we have to emphasize again that these are the sole attempts to that end in the American labor movement—show very clearly that the Communists in America are facing these problems boldly, without hesitation, and do not shrink back from the greatness of the task.

The last conference of the Trade Union Educational League took up the problem of the organization of the unorganized in its full extent. The conference adopted a detailed program to this end. The very existence of such a program proves how unfounded the accusations of Comrade Losovsky are. There is no other left-wing trade-union movement within the Red International of Labor Unions which has any systematic program on the organization of the unorganized masses. The program states very clearly that: "*The main task of the Trade Union Educational League is the organization of the unorganized.*" The program shows that the left-wing of the trade-union movement has no illusions about the American Federation of Labor. It states: "*The official leadership of the trade unions will not organize the American workers.*" It is unjustifiable to say, therefore, that the American Communists do nothing but "dance" quadrilles or fox trots around the American Federation of Labor. But the American Communists are not willing to entirely separate the work of the Communists in the existing trade unions from their work in the field of organizing the unorganized.

Comrade Losovsky shows the tendency to separate these two great historic tasks of the Communist parties. Many dangers are inherent in the policy advocated by Comrade Losovsky. Firt: We must lay the main emphasis today on the organization of the unorganized. But if we do not link up this struggle with our work in the existing trade unions, it would lead to a complete neglect of the work in the American Federation of Labor. Second: The danger would arise that the Communists would not be able to utilize those powerful mass forces which can be organized in the left wing of

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the existing trade unions for the great task of organizing the unorganized. A sharp separation of the two fields of work would only result in diminishing the forces available for carrying out the work of organizing the unorganized. It would be a mistake to think that the Communists alone are so strong in America that they could afford the luxury of taking upon themselves the task of organizing the unorganized without utilizing the mass forces of the existing trade unions as auxiliary machinery. Such a separation is wrong. A synthesis is necessary. On the one hand, the Communists must stay in the existing unions, must build the left wing within them; and, on the other hand, they must take the initiative in organizing the unorganized masses. On the one hand, those mass forces which are present in the left wing of the trade unions must be made use of for the organization of the unorganized. On the other hand, it is necessary to co-ordinate in all struggles those mass forces which the newly organized workers represent with the already existing trade unions. Only such a synthesis can result in a true Communist mass strategy.

We must not have any illusions about the American Federation of Labor. Our position must be:

1. There is no chance for the left wing to conquer the American Federation of Labor as a whole.
2. There is no possibility of the left wing conquering the various national and international organizations of the American Federation of Labor.
3. Nevertheless, we must stay in the American Federation of Labor and in the other reactionary labor unions. We cannot desert three million workers. We must organize a powerful left wing within them, not with the perspective of conquering the whole apparatus but with the perspective of securing all possible positions of power for our revolutionary work. We should not view the situation in America as a stationary one but in a dynamic way. We must know that future complications and difficulties for American imperialism will bring about the radicalization of the American working class and that the strategic positions occupied by the Communists will play a very important role in the revolutionary struggles of the future.
4. The main emphasis must be laid at present on our work in the field of the organization of the unorganized masses in

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the basic industries. To facilitate the carrying out of this task we must also make use of all the forces of the organized left wing within the American Federation of Labor.

5. We cannot maintain the position that an influx of new masses into the existing unions is entirely out of the question.

The trade unions in America today are reactionary, are more and more mere organizations of the labor aristocracy, are becoming in a growing degree the mere instruments of American imperialism. The past development of the American Federation of Labor has shown the following tendencies: The unions of the American Federation of Labor have gained in membership in periods of prosperity and decreased in periods of economic crisis. The last period of prosperity of 1922-26 was the first period of prosperity in the history of the American Federation of Labor in which the trade-union movement not only did not increase its membership but suffered an actual, very substantial loss. The American Federation of Labor is today almost entirely an organization of certain strata of skilled workers. The unskilled workers have left the American Federation of Labor or were never embraced by its unions. These facts are basic facts. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to refuse to consider any possibility of a new mass development of the American Federation of Labor unions.

History shows us many examples of a mass development of reactionary craft unions of the skilled labor aristocracy. The trade-union movement of Great Britain in the nineties prior to the period of "new unionism" presented a picture of the most reactionary, most narrow craft unionism. It was merely a movement of the skilled elements, was permeated with guild traditions, and politically was part and parcel of the capitalist parties, especially the Liberal Party. The first shakening of the British Empire brought about a basic change in the British trade union movement. The period of "new unionism" commenced, and new millions of unskilled workers streamed into the trade unions. A new trade-union leadership sprang up.

The second example history shows us is the war and post-war period in Germany, Great Britain, America, and other countries. The trade-union movement of the world underwent a change in the direction of a mass upward development. The shattering of capitalist economy and the awakening of the broadest masses brought about by the war drove new, broad masses into the existing trade

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unions. The trade unions of Germany doubled their membership. It increased from four to nine millions. Great Britain showed the same picture. Even in America there was a strong upward development of the trade unions. The American Federation of Labor had prior to the war a membership of three millions. The war and post-war period showed a membership of five millions. An analysis of the new membership of the American Federation of Labor and of other labor organizations of that period shows clearly that the new strata of workers coming into the trade unions were recruited from the unskilled, hitherto unorganized sections of the working class. The influx of these genuine proletarian elements into the trade-union movement brought along a militant fighting spirit, resulted in a whole series of big strike struggles. The year 1920 was the turning point. Since then there has been a general numerical decline of the trade-union movement in Germany, Great Britain, and America. What is the basic cause of this? First of all, the temporary and relative stabilization of capitalism, and, linked up with that, the treachery and sabotage of the trade-union bureaucracy.

Our perspective for Europe for the immediate future is the expectation of a general radicalization of the working class and a sharpening of the situation as a whole. Does that mean that the Communists or the left wing should leave the existing trade unions? By no means! It was in 1920, in a period which still showed an upward trend of the revolutionary movements, that Lenin issued the command to fight within the Communist International against tendencies to leave the existing unions and advised the general penetration of the reactionary labor organizations. The perspective of the radicalization of the working class in Europe does not imply the perspective of the decrease in membership of the reactionary trade unions. We must reckon—as at least *one* of the possibilities—with the possibility that the existing trade unions in Germany, Great Britain, and even in America may be able to attract new masses despite their policy of sabotage, despite their reactionary leadership. The leadership of the German, British, and American trade unions was already prior to the war reactionary, became during the war definitely social-imperialistic, and was not at all responsible for the entrance of new masses into the unions during and after the war. The officialdom of the American Federation of Labor struggled continually against the entrance of unskilled, proletarian masses into the unions. The officialdom of the American Federation of Labor with its fossil, craft policies developed a whole

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infamous system in its endeavor to prevent the entrance of unskilled masses into the American Federation of Labor organizations. The unskilled masses of steel workers, railroad workers, textile workers, ect., left the trade unions, but it would be wrong to say that these masses left these organizations voluntarily. The suppression tactics of the Government, the open-shop drive of the organized employers, the whole series of bitter strike struggles, the most despicable treachery of the labor bureaucracy were responsible for their exodus.

It is not out of the question—on the contrary, we must reckon with it as *one* of the possibilities—that in the event of new economic and political crises new masses of workers will join the existing unions despite their reactionary character and even against the will and wishes of the reactionary officialdom. We should reckon with three possibilities:

1. An influx of new masses into the American Federation of Labor.
2. Simultaneously possibilities may arise which will give the Communists the opportunity to assume the initiative and help create new mass organizations of the proletariat outside of the American Federation of Labor.
3. The possibility of such a peculiar constellation of forces that the masses will not enter the American Federation of Labor any more and that we and the left-wing forces will have the opportunity of organizing the new masses into new unions.

There are strong possibilities for this third supposition, but it would be wrong to reckon only on this last perspective. We must keep all three possibilities before our eyes, if we do not want to make major mistakes in our trade-union policies.

The Communist Party of America must see clearly its historic task: It must take the initiative in organizing new trade unions, and it is already taking the initiative! But this can be done only if we strengthen simultaneously the left-wing within the American Federation of Labor, if we make use of it as an *auxiliary force* for the organization of the unorganized masses. We have no guarantee for an immediate victory in our present struggles among the miners, textile and needle trade workers. Facing tremendous objective difficulties, and in view of the weakness of our Party, it is possible that our first big attempt at organizing the unorganized on a mass scale will not be a complete success. It is possible that the organizations being created by the Save-the-Union movement among the miners, the mill committee movement of the textile workers, and the left-

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wing movement of the needle trades will not be able to embrace very large masses in the first stage of their development. But one may be sure that these new trade-union organizations will be real militant organizations, will be the only fighting factors in their respective industries, and will serve as *organizing centers for future struggles* in the creation of true mass labor organizations.

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Engels on the American Labor Movement

By A. LANDY

[The article printed below is intended to serve as the introduction to a reprint of a pamphlet by Frederick Engels entitled "The Labor Movement in America" which has been out of print since the '90's. In the June issue of the Communist, we will reprint the Engels pamphlet in full. The readers of the Communist will be glad to learn that A. Landy will from now on again be a regular contributor to the magazine. He has contributed much valuable material on the application of the Marxian method to American problems particularly on the writings of Marx and Engels themselves dealing especially with America. Those desiring additional copies of the June issue containing the Engels pamphlet reprint should send in their orders in advance as the magazine cannot otherwise print extra copies—Editor].

IN HIS preface to the London, 1892, edition of "The Condition of the Working Class in England," Engels tells us that this book "was first issued in Germany in 1845 . . ." "It was translated into English," he continues, "in 1885, by an American lady, Mrs. F. Kelley Wischnewetzky, and published in the following year in New York. The American edition being as good as exhausted, and having never been extensively circulated on this side of the Atlantic, the present English copyright edition is brought out with the full consent of all parties interested.

"For the American edition, a new Preface and an Appendix were written in English by the author. The first had little to do with the book itself; it discussed the American Working Class Movement of the day, and is, therefore, here omitted as irrelevant, the second —the original preface—is largely made use of in the present introductory remarks." [1]

Nevertheless, irrelevant in an English edition, this preface was considered of sufficient importance in this country to be published separately as an eight-page pamphlet entitled "The Labor Movement in America." [2] This was done, the publishers tell us, "in

1. The Condition of Working-Class in England in 1844. With Preface Written in 1892. By Fr. Engels. Translated by Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky. London, 1892. p. v. (Bettes known today as Florence Kelley).

2. The complete title read: The Labor Movement in America (The George Movement —The Knights of Labor—The Socialists), by Frederick Engels. (Price: One Cent). New York. Printed and Sold by Louis Weiss, 64-66 Ann Street. 1887. A German translation made by Engels himself (compare Engels to Sorge, June 4, 1887) was published simultaneously as: Die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika. Vor-

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order to make it accessible immediately, to the largest possible number of readers, since it bears directly upon the condition of the labor movement in America at the present time."

Although Engels' book and pamphlet were published in 1887,[3] it was not long before they had both practically disappeared from the market. In 1892, Engels himself states that the American edition was as good as exhausted. Since then, only the English copyright edition of 1892 has been available to the general public. The American edition, together with the Preface reprinted in pamphlet form, have been completely forgotten and can now be found only in special libraries or private collections.[4]

In itself, the edition of 1887 is no different from that of 1892. But the preface, dealing with the labor movement in America, and the correspondence between Engels and his translator connected with the entire project, are of the utmost importance to present-day Marxists in America.[5]

Although Mrs. Wischnewetzky had completed the translation of Engels' book towards the end of 1884, having entered into negotiations with him by the beginning of 1885, it was not until 1887 that the book was finally published. Shortly before publication, however, in November, 1886, she wrote to Engels, requesting a special preface for the American edition. This, Engels was ready to furnish, especially since he felt that with the recent developments in the American labor movement a preface would be very much wanted. Furthermore, Edward and Eleanor Marx Aveling, together with Wilhelm Liebknecht, having been invited to make a tour through America under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party,

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wort zur englischen Ausgabe der "Lage der arbeintenden Klasse in England." Von Friedrich Engels. (Separate-Abdruck). Herausgegeben von Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky und Dr. L. Wischnewetzky. Preis ein Cent. New York, Druck und Verlag von Louis Weiss, 64 u. 66 Ann Str. Ecke William. 1887. Likewise eight pages.

3. Contrary to his erroneous assertion that the book had been published in 1886. The title of the American edition is as follows: The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844. With Appendix written 1886, and Preface 1887. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky. New York, John W. Lovell Company, 14-16 Vesey Street. 1887.

4. The text of Engels' article reprinted here is taken from a copy of the original 1887 edition in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison. The Library possesses both the American edition of Engels' book and the eight-page pamphlet; of the latter, it has the German and English version.

5. For the purpose of this article, it would be superfluous to reproduce Engels' letters to Mrs. Wischnewetzky, Sorge and Schluter, as much as they bear upon Engels' preface. Having been utilized in the excellent little study by Heinz Neumann on the Role of American Communists in the Revolution, and having been reproduced, in part at least, in one of the numbers of the Workers Monthly, the reader can check them up without much difficulty.

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Engels expected a certain amount of reliable first hand information, which he intended to use in the composition of his preface. He therefore replied to Mrs. Wischnewetzky on December 28, 1886, offering to comply with her request. A month later, the Preface was on its way to America, having been forwarded to Mrs. Wischnewetzky the 27th of January, 1887.[6]

This is scarcely the place to raise the question of Engels' sources of information. Nevertheless, the extent to which Engels was influenced by the Avelings in his estimation of the American situation may be touched upon briefly here. In his reply to Mrs. Wischnewetzky's request for an American preface, Engels insisted that he would have to "await the return of the Avelings to have a full report of the state of things in America" before he could write the required prefatory remarks. A comparison of Engels' preface with the articles on "The Labor Movement in America" which the Avelings published in the London Monthly *Time* and later republished in book form, shows clearly that the Avelings had been a source of information to Engels. Furthermore, Engels himself had admitted that he had learned much from the Avelings concerning the labor movement in America. Nevertheless, it must not be assumed that the Avelings were more than a source of information to Engels and that he did not have an independent view on the movement in the United States. One need only compare Engels' preface with the Avelings' book to realize who is the master and who the pupil.

Furthermore, as I have tried to show in an article on Marx, Engels and America, published in recent numbers of the *Communist*, Marx and Engels had always, from the early forties on, kept close touch with development in America, because of the latter's peculiar position in the world economy of the time, and consequently, because of its important relation to the development of the revolution in Europe. Indeed, Engels' preface and his views on the American labor movement at this time must be considered as a part of this far from accidental and fundamentally revolutionary interest in America—if their full significance is to be grasped. From first to last, Engels' interest in America was the relation it bore to the Revolution in the different stages of its development. With Marx's death, Engels had become the sole guardian of the world revolution, as it were, watching closely and carefully every new development, no matter where, registering every movement bearing upon the Revolution, whether in agrarian America or reactionary Russia.

6. Compare Engels to Mrs. Wischnewetzky. February 9, 1887.

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Already in 1882, a year before Marx's death, the old masters had recorded the momentous changes which had taken place in these two countries, expressing the opinion that a successful revolution in Russia might even become the signal for a revolutionary wave in the west.

What the Avelings brought Engels, therefore, was merely additional information which strengthened his own conviction in regard to the movement in America. Engels himself has pointed out that his interest in this country and his views on the labor movement here were continuous and independent. In reply to a fear expressed by Mrs. Wischnewetzky that he had been unduly influenced by Aveling, he stated: "Your fear as to my being unduly influenced by Aveling in my view of the American movement is groundless. As soon as there was a national American working class movement independent of the Germans, my standpoint was clearly indicated by the facts of the case. That great national movement, no matter what its form, is the real starting point of American working class development. If the Germans join it, in order to help it or to hasten its development in the right direction, they may do a deal of good and play a decisive part in it. If they stand aloof, they will dwindle down into a dogmatic sect, and will be brushed aside as people who do not understand their own principles. Mrs. Aveling who has seen her father at work, understood this quite as well from the beginning, and if Aveling saw it too, all the better. And all my letters to America, to Sorge, to yourself, to the Avelings, from the very beginning, have repeated this view over and over again. Still I was glad to see the Avelings, before writing my preface, because they gave me some new facts about the inner mysteries of the German party in New York. . . "

More than a year before the Avelings undertook their tour through America, Engels had consented to an American edition of his youthful work because, in his estimation, conditions in America at that time corresponded "almost exactly to the English conditions of the forties." "To what an extent this is the case," he said in a note to the German translation of his American Preface, "is testified to by the articles on 'The Labor Movement in America' by Edward and Eleanor Marx Aveling, in the London Monthly *Time*, for March, April, May and June."

That the report of the Avelings merely strengthened Engels' own conviction in regard to the American labor movement, is therefore made clear by the Avelings themselves when they write: ". . . . . He that will compare the picture drawn by F. Engels of the English Working Class in 1844 will see how absolutely paral-

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lel are the positions of the English workers in 1844 and the American in 1887. With this difference. The American has the forty years' experience of his European brethren to teach him, and as Engel says, in America it takes ten months to do what in Europe takes ten years to achieve. Every word of Engels' Introduction, chapter after chapter, page after page of his book, by the simple substitution of 'America' for 'England,' and 'American' for 'English,' apply to the United States of to-day, and thanks to these forty years' experience, thanks to the higher development of the capitalist system, the concluding words of Engels' work are especially true of the America of our time. 'The classes are divided more and more sharply, the spirit of resistance penetrates the workers, the bitterness intensifies, the guerilla skirmishes become concentrated in more important battles, and soon a slight impulse will suffice to set the avalanche in motion.' "[7]

To Engels, the most important fact about the labor movement in America at that time was the circumstance that vast masses of working people, moving spontaneously and instinctively over a vast extent of the country, as he said, had become "conscious of the fact, that they formed a new and distinct class of American society; a class of—practically speaking—more or less hereditary wage-workers, proletarians. And with true American instinct this consciousness led them at once to take the next step towards their deliverance: the formation of a political workingmen's party, with a platform of its own, and with the conquest of the Capitol and the White House for its goal."

This is the recurrent theme of Engels' letters to Mrs. Wischnewetzky, to Sorge, to Herman Schluter, and, as he says, to the Avelings during their American tour. A great national movement, no matter what its first form, class consciousness and a national labor party are the first conditions for the achievement of the proletarian dictatorship. In this movement the Communists may participate and play a decisive part, or they may stand aloof, and dwindle down into a dogmatic sect, only to be brushed aside as people who do not understand their own theory. It is forty years since Engels first gave this advice to American Marxists; it might just as well have been given to us today.

There are "Marxists" in America who will see in Engels' preface a complete renunciation of armed insurrection and "the dictatorship of the proletariat." What has a labor party, whose goal is

7. Edward and Eleanor Marx Aveling: The Working Class Movement in America. Second Edition. London, 1891. p. 25-26. So far, I have had no time to locate the original articles in the London monthly, *Time*.

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the conquest of the Capitol and the White House, to do with dictatorship? Has not Engels made it plain that the American revolution will be achieved, not by armed insurrection, but by means of the voting power of the American working class? It is unnecessary to point out the unmarxian, undialectic approach to the question involved in this formulation. Nevertheless, it will not be out of place to repeat that at no time did Engels degrade his revolutionary Marxism to a social-democratic parliamentarism. In raising the slogan of a labor party for America, he was merely insisting upon a principle which he and Marx had followed consistently for more than forty years. An independent party of workers was definitely a Communist slogan and the 'abc' of Communist practice; it existed side by side with the principle of armed insurrection, leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and not in opposition to it. This, only the traitorous reformism of a Social Democracy could question.

In the same year that Engels raised the slogan of a labor party in America, he published the second edition of his "Housing Question" in which he unequivocally states: "*Every* real proletarian party, from the English Chartists on, has always set up class politics, the organization of the proletariat as an independent political party as its first condition, and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the immediate goal of the struggle." [8]

We see that Engels makes a clear and definite distinction between the first *condition* and the immediate *goal* of the struggle. Unless the condition is fulfilled, the goal cannot be achieved. It is a fundamental Marxian principle that the immediate goal of the class struggle is the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the first condition for the achievement of this goal is the organization of the proletariat into an independent political party. Not only is there no opposition here between the immediate goal and the first condition of the struggle; but Engels states expressly that the organization of a labor party is only the *first* condition of the struggle, not the exclusive means or the sole condition of the revolution. We are thus dealing, not with a reformist parliamentarism or even a diluted Marxism, but with a clear-cut policy as to the actual conditions for the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The organization of a labor party, however, did not, in Engels' opinion, do away with the need for a Marxist, Communist Party. American Marxists, he insisted, can play a decisive part in the

8. Zur Wohnungsfrage. Separatabdruck aus dem "Volksstaat" von 1872. Zweite, durchgesehene Auflage. Hottingen-Zurich 1887. p. 57.

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formation and leadership of the labor party—if they understand their own theory; if they realize that their theory "is not a dogma but the exposition of a process of evolution, and that process involves successive phases. To expect that the Americans will start with the full consciousness of the theory worked out in older industrial countries is to expect the impossible. What the Germans ought to do is to act up to their own theory—if they understand it, as we did in 1845 and 1848—to go in for any real general working class movement, accept its actual starting point as such and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out, how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical orders in the original programme: they ought, in the words of the Communist Manifesto "represent, in the present of the movement, the future of the movement." [9]

"I think all our practice has shown that it is impossible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organization, and I am afraid that if the German Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake . . . ." [10]

The national extent, the large influence, and the "democratic and even rebellious spirit" of the Knights of Labor, representing the movement of a "fermenting mass" within the working class, made it appear as if, in a very short time, the American workers were going to achieve the first steps towards their emancipation. To Engels, this was a mighty and glorious movement, full of promise for the future and the proletarian revolution, "the raw material out of which the future of the American working class movement, and along with it, the future of American society at large, has to be shaped." He could not know, as we know today, that it was the newly organized American Federation of Labor and not the fermenting Knights with a membership running far beyond half a million, that was to become the main stream of the American labor movement. Engels did not live to see the vast, spontaneous movement of the eighties directed into the narrow, petrifying channel of present-day trade union politics. He did not know that, to a certain extent, the movement then would be in advance of the movement today; that today, we would still have the first two elementary steps towards proletarian emancipation to achieve—to be sure, on a more advanced technical plane and on a higher stage of capitalist development.

9. Engels in a letter to Mrs. Wischnewetzky. December 28, 1886.
10 Engels to Mrs. Wischnewetzky. January 27, 1887.

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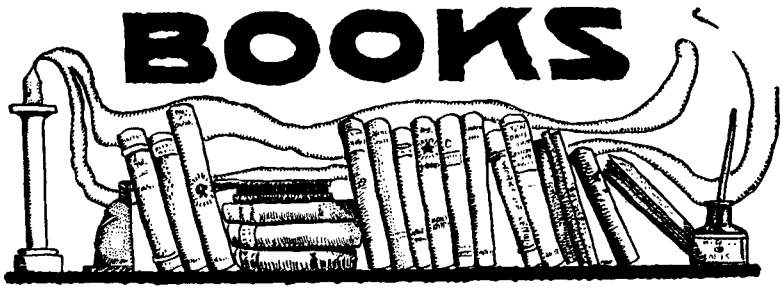

"WHAT IS CO-OPERATION?" By James Peter Warbasse; Vanguard Press, 170 pp. 50 cents.

Reviewed by GEORGE HALONEN

This new book on co-operation by Dr. Warbasse explains Co-operation from an unadulterated capitalistic view-point. The fundamental principle of Dr. Warbasse's co-operation is: "The basic idea of co-operation is that the consumers are everybody, and that all of the machinery of industry and the organization of society should be for them."

This is the prevalent idea of most of the leading bourgeois co-operators. The Central organization of the Finnish progressive co-operatives, the KK., has published a book on co-operation by *Herman Fleissner*, translated into Finnish by *W. Tanner*, the *present president of the International Co-operative Alliance*. He finds, that "In the leading co-operative circles there is a tendency to deny and to deprive the co-operative stores of their *class character*. As consumers all people supposedly have the *same interest to protect* and therefore, as co-operators are without class distinction" (Emphasis in the original text). After explaining how the German movement is composed of about 85 per cent of workers, the writer continues: "Rich members in the German co-operative certainly are rare. The character of the co-operatives make them class organizations. Therefore, the meaningless phrase that 'all people as consumers have the same interest' cannot mislead. This is being crushed by the political interest and political power of the capitalist class."

Thus we see that the idea propagated by Dr. Warbasse is not a new one. It is a capitalist idea which is dangerous to the working class. Dr. Warbasse does not give a damn for the working class, as can be seen on page 157 of his book, where he states: "Most of the people in the world are workers; therefore most of the fools are workers. . . ."

Dr. Warbasse does not understand the working class. He is rich himself. No wonder that in a time like the present, when the farmers are facing bankruptcy, the workers are facing increasing speed-up systems, a lower standard of living, unemployment, when the workers in Colorado, Pennsylvania and in other coal fields are striking for a decent living and are being shot down in cold blood by the capitalist armed hirelings, Dr. Warbasse who is supposed to know something about sociology and economics naively states that "This class struggle consists in the struggle of the workers to get out of the working class and into the capitalist class, and the struggle of the capitalists to keep out of the working class."

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We are used to hearing that the co-operative movement condemns profit business and wants to supplant it by profitless co-operative service. But what does Dr. Warbasse say? On page 73 he states: "Co-operation is not a class movement; it is based on the interest of all the people. It does not recognize classes nor set one class against another. It *does not condemn profit business.*" (Emphasis mine. . . .). Here we have it! Co-operation does not condemn profit business! This would make the co-operative movement altogether meaningless.

The ignoring of the class character of society seems to be a hobby with Dr. Warbasse. It is the "dear public," whose interests he is so bravely defending. Thus he finds: "Consumers are not a class; they are everybody. They are not seeking class advantages but rather the total good of society, for they are society. The organized capitalists, on the one hand, and the organized workers, on the other, seek their own class advantages even though it be at the expense of the public."

Only those who are totally ignorant of economics and sociology can swallow such nonsense. "Public" and "Consumers" are everybody! Is there any economic basis for such gabble? Naturally everybody is a consumer and belongs to the "public." But this, however, does not solve the social problems. The present system of society is composed of certain social classes, which have different economic interests. These classes and their economic interests are the factors to be taken into consideration if we want to solve social problems.

Although Dr. Warbasse claims that co-operation does not condemn profit business, he, however, contradicts himself by admitting that the profit system should be changed and a co-operative commonwealth established. As society stands at the present, its motive in production and distribution is profit-making, based on economic exploitation. The dear "public" is divided into those who get the benefit of this system and those who are exploited under this system. All are consumers, *but* one part of these consumers is being exploited by another. If we want to establish a new system of society, and organize a movement to further this, we cannot expect "consumers" to do the job. We must find out who among the consumers are in favor of a new system. Upon analyzing this we find, that those consumers who are getting all the benefits under the present system, do not want a change. That would be foolishness on their part. They will fight every movement that sets as its purpose the changing of the present system of society. It is only logical that we take this into consideration and not fool ourselves with the meaningless phrase that "Consumers are everybody."

How do we proceed to find out who among the consumers are those whose economic interests demand the changing of the system? We must study their relations to production. Then we find that one class of "consumers" monopolizes the instruments of production, and the other class of "consumers" does not own the means of production. The first named class—the capitalist class—commands by virtue of its ownership of the means of production; and the other class—the working class—

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executes the orders, works for the former. Here we have exploiters and the exploited. It is just this specific form of economic exploitation and servitude that determines the existence of classes in society.

Starting from this economic basis we are able to build a real movement to help fight for a new society. The consumers whose interests are equal to the interests of the capitalist class will not fight for a new society. On the contrary they will fight against it. Consequently, the fighters will come from the class whose interests demand the change, from the *working class*. Thus, if the co-operative movement aims to be something more than a pure commercial venture, a social movement, it cannot ignore the class alignment in society. It has to be a class movement, a working-class movement. Being a working-class movement it must work in solidarity with the aspirations and struggles of the workers and farmers.

The sooner the fallacies about "Consumers are everybody" and the interests of the "public" are destroyed, the stronger the co-operative movement becomes. Working class solidarity is necessary if the co-operative movement hopes to compete with and beat the private profit business with its chain stores, department stores, not to speak anything about the centralized and monopolized production. This solidarity can be gained only if the movement is a working-class movement which they know and feel to be their own.

So much for the class character of the co-operative movement.

"Social and political aspects of Co-operation" is the title of one of the chapters in Dr. Warbasse's book. One can easily understand that this chapter is a mess of rubbish with "social" and "political" labels, when one knows that Dr. Warbasse does not understand the class character of modern society. The state is to him something terrible, independent of society, and above it. The state, however, is nothing more than a machine in the hands of the ruling class to defend their interests against the interests of another class. As long as we are living in a class society, we will have the state. We have the capitalist state to defend the interests of the capitalist class, and the workers' state to defend the interests of the working class. The only difference between these two states is that the workers' state is the waning state, becoming unnecessary as soon as the workers are able to abolish classes in society by building up a classless society. Then there will be no need for a state.

Much has been written about the co-operative movement in the Soviet Union. It is the strongest movement in the world. The American Trade Union delegation to the Soviet Union in its report explains very forcefully the friendly relations existing between the Soviet Government and the co-operatives and how the co-operatives are helping to build socialism. Now comes Dr. Warbasse, hurling a most vicious insult against this big workers' movement by declaring that "The co-operative societies exist (in Russia) in spite of the Soviet Government!"

And what about the American movement? After recognizing that in the building of the co-operative movement ". . . the Finns have played a conspicuous part," Dr. Warbasse hurls this infamous lie: "After the com-

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munists captured the government in Russia, communists appeared among the Finnish societies. As a result of their tactics Finnish societies were broken up and greatly weakened. The Finnish communists then attempted to introduce communist propaganda into the whole national movement, inflicting severe, but not permanent, damage."

As far as damage is being done to the American co-operative movement, it is being done with such false accusations as the afore-mentioned. Such trash we find in Dr. Warbasse's "What is Co-operation?" which is, according to the publishers, meant to be a "manual of the co-operative movement in the United States."

What are the facts? No one can deny that in the consumers' co-operative movement in America, the co-operative stores in the Northern part of the country have played a big role as pioneers. Dr. Warbasse states in his book, that "In the United States there are several District Leagues or local federations of co-operative societies. Some of these have wholesales. Some conduct schools for the training of executives. . . ." Why did Dr. Warbasse not mention that the biggest district league, the most successful co-operative wholesale—the Co-operative Central Exchange—and the first co-operative schools, were organized by these societies, which in his book, he is accusing of "inflicting severe, but not permanent damage?" He did not state these facts, because the lie would have bounced back against his own face. Truth seems to be a very weak point in Dr. Warbasse's "manual."

The question of the day in the co-operative movement is not communism or non-communism. The question is, shall the co-operative movement be a working-class movement to help the workers and farmers to fight against the exploitation and robbery of the present profit system, or shall it decay into a meaningless, powerless, and selfish business affair. That is the question and it cannot be side-tracked by any "Red-baiting" propaganda and vicious lies.

It would have been well for the president of the Co-operative League at least to cite the resolution passed unanimously in the last congress of the League, which definitely declares the co-operative movement to be a part of the labor movement. Just to refresh the memory of the writer of the book "What is Co-operation?" we will state it here in full:

"Whereas, the co-operative movement in its nature is primarily a working-class movement against the present system based on profit.

"And Whereas, a change in the present economic system of society can be accomplished only thru the united action of the whole working class,

"Be it resolved, that this Fifth National Congress, in convention assembled at Minneapolis, Minnesota, November 4, 5, 6, 1926, declares the co-operative movement to be a part of the general labor movement and therefore the co-operative movement should seek the co-operation of all workers' and farmers' movements for the benefit of the exploited toilers."

One vainly seeks this resolution or its spirit in this "manual of the co-operative movement in the United States," which, according to the

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publisher's preface, "will be found to reflect a broad contact as well as deep and sympathetic understanding." That would be expecting too much from a book written by the author of "Co-operative Democracy."

* * *

THE AMERICANIZATION OF LABOR. By Robert W. Dunn, New York; International Publishers. $1.90.

In *The Americanization of Labor*, Robert Dunn once more justifies all that we have come to expect of him in the past three or four years. He subjects to careful scrutiny most of the post-war contrivances which have been put into practice by organized business for the purpose of lulling the worker to sleep and dulling his consciousness of the class struggle. It's a badly battered series of contrivances which stand exposed to the public view after he has stripped them of their camouflage and exposed their essential fraud.

During the world war, the officials of the American trade unions, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, turned the weight of their influence into chauvanistic and patriotic channels. They forgot all of the little they ever knew about the class struggle, whooped it up for Uncle Sam, and collaborated with the government and the employers in the task of winning the war. In the years that followed was to come "labor's reward." The form which this took, when it did come, was the open-shop drive of 1920-21, which was launched by the employers and aided by federal troops and injunctions. All of the "anti-Hun" fury generated between the years of 1917-1919 against the Germans was now diverted and unleashed, in its full fury, against organized labor. "The country has passed from victory to violence, from conquest to chaos;" "Coal strike is nothing less than an open and defiant Revolution;" "Picketing is un-American;" "The labor strike is an enemy to our modern civilization" —these were some of the slogans utilized to "Americanize" labor in those days.

Over 9,000 employers' associations participated in the Americanization process. They were aided in no small degree by "the boys"—whose prices ranged from $10 to $50 for an ordinary slugging to anywhere from $250 to $1,000 for a full "polish" or murder. If, perchance, any contractor, for one reason or another, should see fit to operate on a closed shop basis, the associations found ways of their own to shut off his sources of credit and material as well as the more obvious and cruder practice of boycotting the closed shops and, in one manner or another, influencing the public to confine its buying to non-union firms.

The State, of course, was always then as now, at the beck and call of the capitalist class during this campaign. If official gunmen were needed to slug strikers, the cops were always Johnny-on-the-spot. If the exigencies of the moment required inciting to riot and violence, if strikers were to be evicted from their homes, or if any of the multifarious strong-arm

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methods needed to be employed, the little boys in blue always took pride in a job well done. During this period, also, there was no end to the variety of uses made of the injunction. In many cases they made the unions entirely illegal. In many others even peaceful picketing was placed under the ban; meetings, certain speeches and writings were taboo; while other prohibitions included the payment of strike benefits, telephone conversations, visiting or talking to strikebreakers—or any other activities necessary to conduct a strike or an organization drive.

Following the open shop drive there came an almost endless stream of newer tactics of American business, all of which had as their object to drive the unions out of the plants; to make the workers accept wage cuts—and to make them like it. The Company Unions—variously christened as "employee representation," "works councils," "conference boards," "plant committee,"—made their first appearance as a substitute for honest trade unionism. Employee stock ownership, as a antidote to unionism and a means of riveting the worker to his job; insurance; pension for long and faithful service; welfare and personal schemes (such as benefit associations, clubs, free feeds, sports, etc.—all boss-controlled); courses in "fundamental economics;" employee magazines (in which might appear pictures of the wife and kids and "Recognition of Good Deeds," but nary a word about wages and hours)—all these are dragged out in the open by Dunn and exposed for what they are. They are nothing more nor less than some of the bosses' tactics in carrying on the class struggle. They are supposed to have the effect of making the worker grin joyfully when he reads the notice tacked under the time clock that "after the 15th, wages of employees will be reduced 20 per cent."

What to do about it? Robert Dunn answers: "The American trade union movement must work . . . to render the masses freer from the ties of the powerful corporations." "They must organize the unorganized. The unionless workers have lost every semblance of economic liberty . . . they must be brought within the orbit of the trade union movement. They must be won away from meek and servile loyalty to a company and made loyal to the workers' movement and conscious of their actual class interests."

"Finally," concludes the author, "the need for a labor party representing the interests of the working class is implicit. . . . To meet the varied tactics of the employers, both the open attacks and the welfare offensives, the working class must have political power. It must have a labor party."

Read the *Americanization of Labor*. If the employers' Americanization offensive has left you without the where-with-all, read it in the library of the Workers' School or get your librarian to purchase it for your local public library.

—JACK HARDY.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,
Of THE COMMUNIST, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April, 1928

State of New York

County of New York

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Beatrice Carlin, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of The Communist, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Workers (Communist) Party of America, 43 East 125th Street.
Editor, Bertram D. Wolfe, 43 East 125th Street.
Managing editor, none.
Business Manager, Beatrice Carlin, 43 East 125th Street.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concerns, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

The Workers (Communist) Party of America, 43 East 125th Street, New York, N. Y., Jay Lovestone, Executive Secretary. A non-profit organization—political.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

BEATRICE CARLIN
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 12th day of April, 1928.

(My commission expires March 30, 1929) WM. R. LEWIS, *Notary Public.*

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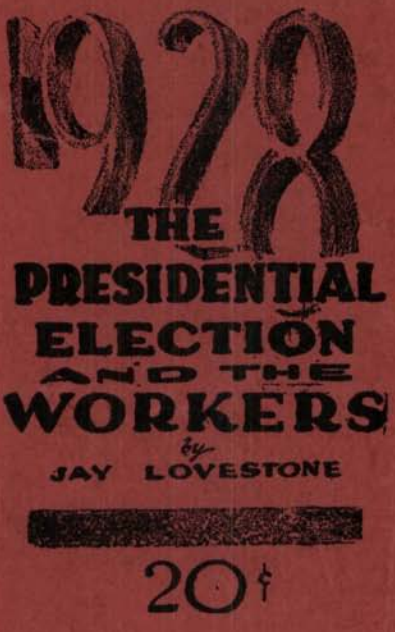

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